Habit of an Oliverian, in 1650.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE

DISSOLUTION of the Preſent PARLIAMENT.

ADORNED WITH PLATES.

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH COLLYER,
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,
in Two Volumes Folio.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. III.

The COMMONWEALTH.

The Houſe of Commons aboliſh Monarchy, with the Legiſlative Power of the Lords, and eſtabliſh a Commonwealth. Petitions againſt it. Revolt and Defeat of the Levellers. The total Reduction of Ireland. Montroſe taken Priſoner and executed. Charles aſſents to the Conditions impoſed on him by the Scots. The Bat-

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THE throne was no ſooner rendered vacant by the death of Charles, than the commons, after the example of the Romans at the expulſion of Tarquin, paſſed an act, which prohibited the proclaiming of any individual to be king of the Engliſh empire. The royal titles were eraſed

eraſed out of the public writings, the royal arms were taken down from all public offices and courts of juſtice; the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy aboliſhed; a new great ſeal was made, bearing the inſcription, THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND: on one ſide were engraven the arms of England, and on the reverſe, the houſe of commons, with the words, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1648. The impreſſion on the national coin had, on one ſide, the Engliſh arms, with the inſcription, The commonwealth of England; and on the reverſe, the croſs and harp, with the motto, GOD WITH US. That there might remain no objects to excite ambition, there were put up to ſale not only the crown and fee-farm rents, but alſo the regalia, the rich furniture of the royal palaces, the jewels and paintings belonging to Charles I. with all the expenſive magnificence of monarchy. The houſe of peers was aboliſhed, and the commons taking both the legiſlative and the executive powers of government into their own hands, altered their ſtile from that of the houſe of commons, to The parliament of the Commonwealth of England; and conferred the whole executive power of government on a council of ſtate, who were to act and proceed according to the inſtructions they ſhould, from time to time, give them. This council was compoſed of thirty-nine perſons; and the commons, who at firſt poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority of the nation,

amounted only to ninety; but their number was ſoon after encreaſed.

Three of the leaders of the royal party, in the laſt civil war, fell a ſacrifice to the ſafety of the infant republic: theſe were the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and the lord Capel, who were ſentenced to ſuffer death by a ſecond high court of juſtice. The duke of Hamilton, who had continually fluctuated from the patriot to the courtier, and from the courtier to the patriot, died unregretted by either party; the earl of Holland, who had added treachery to inconſtancy, was deſpiſed by both parties; but the lord Capel, though once a friend to liberty, being immutably fixed, by obtaining a title, to the intereſts of the crown, was in great repute with the Cavaliers. The earl of Norwich, and Sir John Owen, were alſo condemned by the ſame court, but were pardoned by the commons.

The parliament had not only reaſon to dread the formidable faction of the Cavaliers, and that of the Preſbyterians; their own party were diſguſted at the form into which they had modelled the government; and at the undivided authority they had aſſumed to themſelves. A petition had been ſent up to the commons, from lord Fairfax, the general, and the council of officers, with articles for a ſettlement of the nation on a new plan, immediately after that aſſembly had determined to proceed againſt the king's life. They demanded, that the ſovereign authority ſhould be lodged in an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people, compoſed

compoſed of four hundred perſons, annually elected by counties, cities, and boroughs, more equally proportioned with the electors, than the preſent diſtribution; that all the natives or denizens of England, not receiving alms, or ſervants receiving wages, ſhould have the privilege of a voice at elections; and no member of a council of ſtate, nor ony officer in the army or garriſons, nor any treaſurer or receiver of public money, ſhould, while ſuch, be capable of being elected member of parliament. Theſe, with ſome proper limitations of power, and propoſals relative to the eſtabliſhment of religious liberty, were the heads of the petition ſent up by the army to the commons, and ſtiled, The Agreement of the People. The parliament, though their power, according to the propoſitions of the army, was to have terminated on the laſt day of April 1649, were not only ſilent concerning any intention to diſſolve their body, but treated with great rigour thoſe of the party who ventured to ſhew diſcontent at their proceedings, and ſeveral were ſeverely puniſhed. Lilburn, with three other leaders of the party, were impriſoned for publiſhing a pamphlet, called England's Second Chains. As the government did not enter into milder or juſter meaſures, Lilburn and his three aſſociates, though under confinement, had the courage to print a narrative of all that paſſed between them and the council of ſtate, with a better model of government than any which had been yet offered to the public. It was entitled, An agreement of the free people

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of England, and propoſed, that parliaments ſhould be annual inſtead of biennial, and the members not capable of re-election, till after the intervention of one repreſentative: that the executive powers of government, during the adjournments of parliament, ſhould be exerciſed by committees of parliament, inſtead of a council of ſtate: that they ſhould not be empowered to impreſs any perſon into the military ſervice, either by ſea or land; as every man's conſcience, ſays the agreement, ought to be ſatisfied in the juſtice of that cauſe, in which he hazards his own life, or may deſtroy another: that they ſhould not be empowered to give judgment in any caſe where the laws were ſilent, or to puniſh any perſon for refuſing, in criminal caſes, to anſwer queſtions againſt himſelf: that they ſhould not be empowered to make or continue any law, whereby the real and perſonal eſtate of any ſubject, ſhould be exempted from the payment of their debts, or to impriſon the perſon of any man for debt; it being, ſays the agreement, both unchriſtian in itſelf, and no advantage to the creditors: that they ſhould not make or continue any law for taking away the life of the ſubject, except for the crime of murder, for heinous offences deſtructive to human ſociety, or for endeavouring to deſtroy the agreement: that in capital offences, a recompence ſhould be made to the party injured, as well out of the eſtates of the malefactor, as by loſs of life: that they ſhould not be empowered to impoſe miniſters on the people, but ſhould give free

liberty

liberty to the pariſhioners of every pariſh, to chuſe ſuch as themſelves ſhould approve: that they ſhould not be empowered to impoſe any public officer upon any counties, hundreds, cities, towns, or boroughs; but thoſe who were capable of electing repreſentatives, ſhould chuſe all the public officers yearly: that they ſhould not be empowered to continue any proceedings in law longer than ſix months, before the cauſe was finally determined: that the laws, and proceedings in law, ſhould be only in Engliſh, nor ſhould any perſon be hindered from pleading his own cauſe, or the making uſe of any friend to plead for him; that no perſon ſhould be exempted from the ordinary courſe of legal proceedings, by virtue of any tenure, grant, charter, patent, birth, or privilege of parliament; and to demonſtrate, that the party was not tainted with any principles of levelling, the agreement concludes with an injunction, that it ſhould not be in the power of the repreſentatives, to level mens eſtates, deſtroy property, or make all things common. Several citizens of London, and the inhabitants of Eſſex, preſented two ineffectual petitions to parliament, in favour of this agreement.

In the mean time, the ſpirit of the Levellers induced them to aſſemble at Burford, to the number of 5000; but though they were chiefly veteran ſoldiers, yet being deceived by a promiſe from Cromwell, of a delay of hoſtilities, they were unexpectedly attacked by colonel Reynolds, with a ſuperior body of forces,

forces, and entirely defeated. Four hundred of them were taken priſoners, ſome of whom were capitally puniſhed, and the reſt pardoned.

This oppoſition, which at firſt appeared formidable, being thus ſuddenly cruſhed, procured the new government a ſtability, which enabled them effectually to attend to the diſtracted ſituation of the public affairs in Ireland. Ormond, early in the ſpring, had aſſembled an army of 3700 foot, and 4500 horſe, and marched towards Dublin, where the authority of the Engliſh parliament was acknowledged. He took ſeveral garriſons in his way, reduced Drogheda, by a detachment of his army under the command of lord Inchiquin, his lieutenant-general; and encamped at Rathmines, in order to interrupt the ſending relief to Dublin by ſea. But on the firſt day of his arrival, had the mortification to ſee the colonels Reynolds and Venables, with a good ſupply of horſe, foot, money, and all other neceſſaries, ſail into the town. Though diſappointed in the hopes of interrupting its relief, Ormond ſeized the caſtle of Baggatrath, which would have cut off from the enemy the means of ſubſiſting their horſe: and being tired out with continual fatigue, had retired to reſt, after leaving orders to keep his forces in arms. He was ſuddenly awaked with the noiſe of firing; and ſtarting from his bed, ſaw every thing already in tumult and confuſion. Jones, an excellent officer, though formerly a lawyer, had ſallied out with the reinforcement which had newly arrived; and attacking the party employ-

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ed in repairing the fort, totally routed them, and fell in with the army, who had neglected Ormond's orders. These he ſoon threw into diſorder; put them to flight in ſpight of all the lieutenant's efforts, chaced them off the field; ſeized all their tents, baggage, and ammunition; and after killing 4000 men, and taking above 2000 priſoners, returned victorious to Dublin.

Cromwell being now made lord lieutenant of Ireland, and ſailing to Dublin with a large body of horſe and foot, completed the diſmay of the Iriſh. Drogheda was the firſt town which experienced his vengeance. Though garriſoned with 2000 foot and one regiment of horſe, the flower of the Iriſh army, yet Cromwell having made a breach, ordered a general aſſault; and though twice repulſed with loſs, renewed the attack, and himſelf, along with Ireton, led on his men. All oppoſition was overborne by the furious valour of the troops. The town was taken ſword in hand; and orders being iſſued to give no quarter, a cruel ſlaughter was made of the garriſon, which, with the inhabitants, were put to the ſword, except a ſmall number who were ſent to the Engliſh ſettlement at Barbadoes. This barbarity was intended to retaliate the horrid inhumanity of the Iriſh maſſacre.

The fate of Drogheda ſtruck the Iriſh with ſuch terror, that Trim and Dundalk were immediately quitted by the royaliſts; and Cromwell marching without delay to Wexford, began to batter the town. The garriſon, after a

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ſlight deſence, offered to capitulate; but before they obtained a ceſſation, they imprudently neglected their guards, and the Engliſh army ruſhing in upon them, cut them to pieces. Roſs, and other places of ſtrength, were no ſooner attacked than won; and to complete the ſucceſs of the conquerors, all the towns in Munſter, garriſoned by the Engliſh ſoldiers under lord Inchiquin, revolted to the parliament. Waterford was next attempted; but as this town was prepared for a vigorous defence, and the ſeaſon was far advanced, Cromwell, whoſe army had been in continual actions from their firſt arrival in the country, raiſed the ſiege, and retired into winter quarters.

Early in the ſpring of 1650, Cromwell marched out of his winter quarters, and took Callon, Gouran, Kilkenny, and Clonmell. But while he was preparing for a ſecond attempt on Waterford, he was ſuddenly recalled; and the chief command in Ireland, under the character of deputy, was given to commiſſary-general Ireton, who did not ſuffer the buſineſs of conqueſt to languiſh. The city of Waterford was no ſooner inveſted than reduced; the fort of Duncannon, and the caſtle of Carlow, ſuffered the ſame fate; Athlone, in the county of Roſcommon, ſurrendered to Sir Charles Coote and Reynolds; nor were the Engliſh foiled in any attempt they made on any of the forts, cities, and towns, of the royaliſts. Ireton, in the month of April, laid ſiege to Limerick, the only town of importance remaining in the hands of the Iriſh; and after lord Muſkerry,

GENERAL IRETON.

Muſkerry, who advanced with a ſtrong party to relieve it, was defeated by lord Broghill, with a detachment of Ireton's army, the magiſtrates and officers met in the town-houſe, in order to proceed to a treaty. In vain did the biſhops of Limerick and Emly uſe their entreaties, and threaten the citizens with excommunication, if they conſented to deliver up the clergy to puniſhment; but this having no effect, the biſhops publiſhed an excommunication, with a perpetual interdict on the city, if they did not retract. O'Neale, the governor, oppoſing a ſurrender, colonel Fennell obtained the keys from the mayor, and, with other officers, ſeized on two of the gates, turned the cannon againſt the town, and admitted two hundred of the beſiegers. In this extremity the city ſurrendered; and the ſoldiers of the garriſon, after laying down their arms, had leave to march whither they pleaſed. The inhabitants were allowed two months time before they removed, and three months more before they took away their goods. Among the perſons excepted from quarter were Hugh O'Neale, the governor, who was ſhot, and the biſhop of Emly was taken and hanged; but the biſhop of Limerick eſcaped, in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier. The whole frame of the Iriſh union being now diſſolved, above 40,000 of that people entered into foreign ſervice; and they were allowed full liberty and leiſure for their embarkation.

The republic of England at this time ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of Ireton,

who, from the great fatigue he had ſuffered at the ſiege of Limerick, ſickened and died ſoon after its ſurrender. He was much celebrated for his vigilance, induſtry, intrepidity, honeſty, and diſintereſted conduct, and for the ſtrict execution of juſtice in the unlimited command he poſſeſſed in Ireland. The parliament of England, to ſhew their regard for his merit and ſervices, beſtowed an eſtate of 2000 l. a year on his family, and honoured him with a magnificent funeral at the public expence.

In the mean time Charles had paſſed ſome time at the Hague, where he was informed by Sir Joſeph Douglas, that he was proclaimed king by the Scottiſh parliament: but notwithſtanding his connection with the family of Orange, and his being in great favour with the public, the ſtates were uneaſy at his preſence; and Doriſlaus, the parliament's envoy at the Hague, being murdered there by ſome royaliſts, the States dreading the formidable power of the parliament, perſuaded him to leave the country: upon which he went to Paris, where few civilities being paid him, and he obtaining no aſſiſtance, he retired into Jerſey, where his authority was ſtill acknowledged. Here Winram, laird of Liberton, waited upon him, as deputy from the committee of the ſtates in Scotland, to inform him of the conditions to which he muſt ſubmit, before he could be admitted to the exerciſe of his authority. Upon which he deſired commiſſioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty, with regard to theſe conditions.

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On the arrival of the Scots commiſſioners at Breda, they had no powers to treat; but Charles was to ſubmit, without reſerve, to the terms impoſed upon him. Theſe were, that he ſhould iſſue a proclamation, baniſhing from court all excommunicated perſons; that no Engliſh ſubject, who had ſerved againſt the parliament, ſhould be permitted to approach him; that he ſhould bind himſelf, by his royal promiſe, to take the covenant; that he ſhould ratify all acts of parliament, by which the Preſbyterian government, the directory of worſhip, the confeſſion of faith, and the catechiſm, were enjoined; that in civil affairs, he ſhould conform entirely to the direction of parliament; and in eccleſiaſtical, to that of the aſſembly. Charles's Engliſh counſellors, who, by theſe terms, were excluded from enjoying any ſhare of royal favour, or even the preſence of their maſter, were very warm in their expoſtulations againſt his accepting ſuch hard conditions. On the other hand, the earl of Laneric, now duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been baniſhed their country for their adherence to the late king; and being deſirous of returning home in his retinue, earneſtly preſſed him to ſubmit to the conſiderations required; obſerving, that whatever might be the preſent intentions of the ruling party in Scotland, yet their admitting the king's government muſt unavoidably engage them in a war with England; in which caſe the Scots would be under the neceſſity of accepting the aſſiſtance of the king's friends of

all parties, who might then enable his majeſty to give the law in his turn, and to new model the government, according to the true principles of monarchy.

Theſe arguments had a great influence upon Charles, eſpecially as they were ſeconded by the advice of the queen and of the prince of Orange, Charles's brother-in law, who thought it ridiculous to refuſe a kingdom, merely from a regard to epiſcopacy: but he was chiefly induced to comply from his hearing the unhappy fate of Montroſe, who had been put to death by his zealous countrymen.

Montroſe, who, by the command of the late king, had laid down his arms, retired into France; and for ſome time lived unactive at Paris: but being deſirous of improving his martial genius, travelled into Germany, where he was careſſed by the emperor. On hearing of the tragical death of the king, and receiving from his young maſter a renewal of his commiſſion of captain-general in Scotland, he levied ſoldiers in Holland and the north of Germany; procured ſome ſmall ſupplies of money from the king of Denmark and the duke of Holſtein, with arms from the queen of Sweden, and ſhips from the prince of Orange; and then, leſt the king's agreement with the Scots ſhould make him revoke his commiſſion, ſailed for the Orkneys with about five hundred men, moſt of them Germans. Some of his retainers having propheſied, that to him alone it was reſerved to reſtore the king's authority

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in all his dominions; he lent a willing ear to this improbable opinion; and having armed ſome of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, carried them over with him to Caithneſs, with the hopes, that the highlanders would flock to his ſtandard, but without ſucceſs. Mean while the committee of eſtates ordered Leſlie and Holborne to march againſt him, with an army of 4000 men, ſending Strahan before, with a body of cavalry, to check his progreſs; and he falling unexpectedly on Montroſe, the royaliſts were put to flight, and all of them either killed or taken priſoners. Montroſe himſelf having put on the diſguiſe of a peaſant, was delivered into the hands of his enemies, by a perfidious friend, to whom he had entruſted his perſon. Leſlie led him about ſeveral days, in the mean habit, in which he had diſguiſed himſelf. On his being brought to Edinburgh, he was met by the magiſtrates at the eaſtern gate of the city, and put into a cart, purpoſely prepared with a chair or high bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him; at the ſame time he was bound in cords drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders; and, in this poſture, bareheaded, was carried, with the hangman riding before him, with his bonnet on; while the other officers, who were taken with him, walked two and two before the cart, and were thus conducted through the town to priſon.

On Montroſe's being brought before the parliament, he told them, that ſince the king had ſo far owned their authority as to enter into a

treaty with them, he appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a reſpect which, while they ſtood in defiance of their ſovereign, they would in vain have required of him; and though his enemies had endeavoured to degrade him, by ſtudied indignities, yet the juſtice of his cauſe would enoble any fortune. He was ſorry that the parliament could find no better teſtimony of their return to allegiance, than the murder of ſo faithful a ſubject; nor had he any other affliction than to ſee, in his fate, the authority of his prince treated with ſuch ignominy: and that he now joyfully followed, by a like unjuſt ſentence, his late ſovereign, and ſhould be happy, if, in his future deſtiny, he could follow him to the ſame bliſsful manſions, where his piety and virtue had already, without doubt, ſecured him an eternal recompence.

After this ſpirited ſpeech he received ſentence, that he ſhould the next day be carried to Edinburgh Croſs, and there hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, for the ſpace of three hours: then be taken down, his head be cut off upon a ſcaffold, and affixed to the priſon: his legs and arms be ſtuck up in the four chief towns in the kingdom; and his body be buried in the place appropriated for common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, ſhould take off his excommunication. The clergy, afterwards, endeavoured to produce this repentance by their exhortations, but all in vain; for he told them, he was prouder to have his head affixed where it was ſentenced to ſtand, than to have his picture in the king's bedchamber;

chamber; and that ſo far from being ſorry that his legs and arms were to be ſent to four cities in the kingdom, he wiſhed he had limbs enough to be diſperſed into all the cities of Chriſtendom, there to remain as teſtimonies in favour of the cauſe for which he ſuffered. On the twenty-firſt of May he was brought on the ſcaffold, when the executioner tied about his neck a Latin book, which had been publiſhed, of his military actions. Montroſe perſevering in his unconquerable ſpirit, ſaid, that he bore this teſtimony of his bravery and loyalty, with more pride, than he had ever worn the garter; and having aſked his enemies, whether they had any other indignities to put upon him, after a few minutes ſpent in prayer, patiently endured the execution of his ſentence. Thus died, on the twenty-firſt of May 1650, the marquis of Montroſe, who was diſtinguiſhed by his military genius, his valour and conduct.

Among thoſe who were taken priſoners with Montroſe, was executed Urrey, who was diſtinguiſhed by his inconſtancy: he firſt fought on the ſide of the Engliſh parliament againſt the king; he deſerted the parliament, and turned to the king; he abandoned the king, and fought on the ſide of the Scotch covenanters in Scotland; then deſerting the Scotch covenanters, had, in two invaſions of his country, borne a conſiderable command in Montroſe's army. About a year after, the marquis of Huntley, alſo fell a victim to the covenanters.

The news of Montroſe's death made Charles no longer refuſe the conditions that were offered

ed him; but ſetting ſail for Scotland, under the eſcort of ſeven Dutch ſhips of war, he arrived ſafe in the Frith of Cromartie: but the Scots were ſo jealous of his ſentiments, that they would not ſuffer him to land, till he had ſigned the covenant; none of his Engliſh followers, except the duke of Buckingham, were allowed to remain in the kingdom; and Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumferling, and other noblemen of the faction called Engagers, were, contrary to their expectation, diſmiſſed his preſence, and obliged to retire to their houſes, where they lived in a private manner, on their own eſtates, without truſt or authority. Beſides, none of the Engliſh royaliſts, who had ſerved his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom.

Charles, after having thus taken the covenant, which he did not believe, and ſolemnly ſworn to preſerve what he intended, on the firſt opportunity, to deſtroy, at length aſſented to a yet more notorious act of conſummate diſſimulation; and on the ſixteenth of Auguſt publiſhed a declaration, in which he gave thanks for the merciful diſpenſations of Providence, by which he was recovered from the ſnare of evil counſel, and having obtained a full perſuaſion of the righteouſneſs of the covenant, was induced to caſt himſelf and his intereſt, only upon God. He deſired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in ſpirit, becauſe of his father's following wicked meaſures, oppoſing the covenant, and the work of reformation, and ſhedding the blood of God's people, throughout all his dominions. He lamented the idolatry

of

of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's houſe, which he ſaid, was a matter of great offence to all the Proteſtant churches, and a great provocation to him, "who is a "jealous God, viſiting the ſins of the father "upon the children." He profeſſed, that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he deteſted all popery, ſuperſtition, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs; and was reſolved not to tolerate, much leſs to countenance any of them, in any of his dominions. He declared that he would never favour thoſe, who had ſo little conſcience as to follow intereſt in preference to the goſpel and kingdom of Chriſt. He avowed himſelf convinced in conſcience of the exceeding great ſinfulneſs and unlawfulneſs of the treaty of peace with the bloody Iriſh rebels, and expreſſed his hope, that whatever ill ſucceſs his former guilt might have drawn upon his cauſe yet now having obtained the mercy to be on God's ſide, and to acknowledge his own cauſe ſubordinate to that of God, divine Providence would crown his arms with ſucceſs.

Inſtead of the ſolemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, the Scots prepared for him a trial ſtill more mortifying, and reſolved that he ſhould paſs through a public humiliation, and do penance before the people. They ſent him twelve articles of repentance, to which he agreed; and in theſe were enumerated the various tranſgreſſions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother; and farther declarations, that he ſought the

the reſtitution of his rights, for the ſole advantage of religion, and in ſubordination to the kingdom of Chriſt. Thus the Scotch covenanters endeavoured, by exacting ſuch public monuments of the king's inſincerity, to impoſe on themſelves and others, and to bring royalty into the utmoſt contempt.

In the mean time Charles not only found his character degraded, but his authority annihilated. He was conſulted in no public meaſure, nor was he called to aſſiſt at any councils; and his favour was ſufficient to diſcredit any perſon who aſpired to advancement. All his efforts to unite the oppoſite parties encreaſed the ſuſpicions of the covenanters that he was not entirely their own.

Fairfax, who in England ſtill retained the name of general, having unſurmountable ſcruples againſt invading the Scots, who, as well as himſelf, were zealous Preſbyterians, and united to England by the ſacred bands of the covenant, reſigned his commiſſion, and it was beſtowed on Cromwell, who being declared captain general of all the forces in England, entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

The Scotch army was commanded by Leſlie, an experienced officer, who intrenched himſelf in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leigh; and took care to remove from the counties of Merſe, and the Lothians, every thing that could furniſh the Engliſh army with ſubſiſtence. Cromwell advancing to the Scotch camp, ſtrove in vain to bring Leſlie to a battle: for, though the Scots were ſuperior in number, they

they were much inferior in diſcipline to the Engliſh army. That general, therefore, kept within his intrenchments, and endeavoured, by ſkirmiſhes, to confirm the ſpirits of his ſoldiers. In theſe enterprizes he was ſucceſsful, and his army daily encreaſed both in numbers and courage. Charles came to the camp; and having exerted himſelf in a rencounter, gained on the affections of the ſoldiers, who were more deſirous of ſerving under a young prince of ſpirit and vivacity, than under a committe of talking clergymen. The clergy being now alarmed, ordered Charles to leave the camp, and then purged it of about 4000 malignants and engagers, whoſe zeal had led them to attend the king; and then concluded, that they had an army compoſed entirely of ſaints, which could not be beaten.

Cromwell having neglected the precaution of bringing a ſufficient quantity of proviſions by ſea, was reduced to great difficulties, and retired to Dunbar. Hither he was followed by Leſlie, who, after taking poſſeſſion of the difficult paſſes which lay between Berwick and Dunbar, encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlooked that town. Cromwell was here reduced to ſuch extremities, that he was on the point of ſending, by ſea, all his foot and artillery to England; and of attempting to break through the enemy's army with his cavalry, when the folly of the Scotch eccleſiaſtics turned his deſpair to triumph.

Full of confidence in the fancied ſuperiority of their cauſe, and of the high favour they ſtood

ſtood in with the Almighty, theſe military prieſts were unwilling to ſuffer the invaders to eſcape with impunity. Pretending to have received revelations, that God had delivered the ſectarian and heretical army into their hands, they forced their general to deſcend from a ſituation, which ſecured him conqueſt, in order to attack the Engliſh in their retreat. Cromwell, who was then viewing the Scottiſh camp through a perſpective, obſerved their unexpected motions; and joyfully crying out, "The "Lord has delivered the enemy into our "hands," gave immediate orders for an attack. Neither ſuperiority in numbers, nor the rage of bigotry, could enable the Scots to ſtand the ſhock of Cromwell's veterans. They were inſtantly put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. Above 4000 Scots were ſlain in the fight and on the field of battle; 10,000 were taken priſoners, among whom were many officers of note; and all their colours, artillery, arms, ammunition, tents, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. This deciſive victory was fought on the third of September 1650. Cromwell purſued his advantage, and gained poſſeſſion of Edinburgh and Leith, while the remnant of the Scotch army fled to Stirling. The approach of winter, and Cromwell's being ſeized with an ague, kept him from puſhing the victory any farther.

Charles conſidered the defeat of the Scots as a fortunate event; and the vanquiſhed giving him now more authority, and applying to him for ſupport, Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the

the Engagers, were admitted into the court and camp, on condition of their doing public pennance, and expreſſing repentance for their late tranſgreſſions. The intended pennance of the king was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed at Scone, on the firſt of January 1651, with great pomp and ſolemnity. But he yet remained in the hands of the moſt rigid Covenanters; and though treated with civility and courteſy by Argyle, a man of parts and addreſs, he was little better than a priſoner.

The youthful Charles was in a ſituation very unſuitable to his diſpoſition. His affability, his wit, his gaiety, and diſengaged behaviour, were here conſidered as ſo many crimes; and his love of innocent pleaſures, as the greateſt enormities. The duke of Buckingham was the only Engliſh courtier allowed to attend him; and by his talent for ridicule, he rendered himſelf extremely agreeable to his maſter: but being obliged to attend from morning till night at prayers and ſermons, they betrayed evident ſymptoms of wearineſs and contempt, while the clergy, by their continual exhortations, remonſtrances and reprimands, endeavoured to bring Charles to a more juſt ſenſe of his duty. The young prince's fondneſs for the fair could not be entirely reſtrained: being obſerved to uſe ſome familiarities with a young woman, a committee of miniſters was appointed to reprove him for behaving ſo unbecoming a monarch who had taken the covenant. Douglaſs, the ſpokeſman of the committee, with a

ſevere aſpect, informed him of the great ſcandal he had given the godly; enlarged on the heinous nature of ſin, and concluded, ſays Hume, with exhorting his majeſty, whenever he was diſpoſed to amuſe himſelf, to be more careful, for the future, in ſhutting the windows.

Charles, vexed at the indignities, and tired at the formalities to which he was obliged to ſubmit, ſoon attempted to regain his liberty. General Middleton, who commanded ſome royaliſts, being proſcribed by the covenanters, kept in the mountains, waiting for an opportunity to ſerve his maſter. The king reſolving to join him, ſecretly made his eſcape from Argyle, and fled to the highlands. Colonel Montgomery being ſent in purſuit of him with a troop of horſe, overtook him, and perſuaded him to return; and with this he complied, the royaliſts being too weak to ſupport him. This incident procured Charles better treatment, and more authority, the covenanters being afraid of driving him to take ſome deſperate reſolution. Argyle renewed his courtſhip to the king, while he, in return, pretended to repoſe great confidence in Argyle; and even went ſo far as to drop hints of his intentions to marry that nobleman's daughter: but he had to do with one who was too wiſe to be ſeduced by ſuch groſs artifices.

The Scotch army, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, aſſembled under Hamilton and Leſlie; and the king joined the camp; but the forces of the weſtern counties refuſed to unite with an army, which admitted engagers and

and malignants among them, and kept in a ſeparate body, under Ker. They called themſelves the Proteſters, and their clergy declaimed equally againſt the king and Cromwell. The other party were denominated Reſolutioners; and the kingdom continued long after, divided and agitated by theſe diſtinctions.

The king of Scots camp was fixed at Torwood, and defended by ſtrong intrenchments in the front, and the town of Stirling in the rear. His generals reſolved to make uſe of the ſame cautious conduct that had been ſo ſucceſsful in the laſt campaign; and in vain did Cromwell attempt to decoy them into an engagement. After loſing much time, he ſent Lambert over the Frith into Fife, in order to cut off the proviſions of the enemy. Lambert, by defeating a ſtrong body of Scotch under Holborne and Brown, got poſſeſſion of all the paſſages on the Frith; and thus ſecured a ſafe paſſage for the whole army, who, by getting between the enemy and the northern provinces, on which the Scotch army depended for proviſions, rendered it unſafe for them to keep their poſt any longer.

Cromwell now flattered himſelf, that he had reduced the Scots to the neceſſity of fighting. But Charles ſeeing the way open, reſolved to march immediately into England, where he expected that his friends would flock to his ſtandard; and having perſuaded the generals to enter into the ſame views, the army, which amounted to 14,000 men, advanced by long marches towards the ſouth.

Cromwell, though ſurprized, was not diſmayed at this unexpected motion. He inſtantly diſpatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be concerned at the approach of the Scots: he ſent orders for aſſembling forces in the northern counties of England to oppoſe the invaders; diſpatched Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon their rear, and interrupt their march; and having left Monk with 7000 men, to complete the reduction of Scotland, he himſelf followed the king with the reſt of the army.

Charles, on his arrival in England, found himſelf entirely diſappointed in his expectations of encreaſing his army. The Scots, terrified at ſo hazardous an enterprize, fell off in great numbers. The Engliſh Preſbyterians having no warning of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him; while the royaliſts were deterred from entering into the Scottiſh army, by the orders iſſued by the committee of miniſters, not to admit any who did not ſubſcribe the Covenant. The earl of Derby, however, leaving the Iſle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independence, entered Lancaſhire at the head of 1500 horſe; but before he had collected any conſiderable addition to his forces, was attacked and defeated by colonel Lilburne, near Wigan. Thus the king, when he arrived at Worceſter, found that his forces were extremely harraſſed by a fatiguing march, and were not more numerous than when he left his camp, at Torwood.

Cromwell's

Cromwell's army being reinforced from all quarters, he marched to Worceſter with above 30,000 men; and on the third of September, the anniverſary of the Scots defeat at Dunbar, attacked them on all ſides; and meeting with little reſiſtance, except from duke Hamilton, and general Middleton, broke in upon the diſordered royaliſts. The Scots, after an engagement of a few hours, were driven back into the town with ſuch confuſion, that the entrance was left open to the Engliſh. The ſtreets of the city were now ſtrewed with dead: Hamilton was mortally wounded; and Maſſey was wounded and taken priſoner. The cavalry, who had kept out of the action, with Leſlie at their head, ſought their ſafety by flight, and left the infantry at the mercy of the conquerors; and that general, with the cavalry, being overtaken before they reached Lancaſhire, the whole Scotch army was either killed or taken priſoners.

Charles fled from Worceſter at ſix o'clock in the evening, and travelled without halting about twenty-ſix miles, in company with fifty or ſixty of his friends. To provide for his own ſecurity, he then left them, without communicating his intentions to any of them; and, by the earl of Derby's advice, went to Boſcobell, a lone houſe in the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by Penderell. a farmer, and a zealous royaliſt. To this man Charles made himſelf known; and though death was denounced againſt all who concealed the king, and a great reward was offered to any who

ſhould betray him, he maintained the moſt unſhaken fidelity. Joining with him his four brothers, and dreſſing the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and they employed themſelves in cutting faggots. Some nights the prince lay in the houſe upon ſtraw; and then, for better concealment, mounted an oak, where he ſheltered himſelf among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours together. Mean while he ſaw ſeveral ſoldiers paſs by in ſearch of him, many of whom expreſſed, in his hearing, their earneſt wiſhes to ſeize him. This tree was afterwards called The Royal Oak, and was, for many years, held in great veneration by all who had a particular regard for the family of the Stuarts.

Charles was now in the moſt imminent danger, and could neither ſafely ſtay in his retreat, nor ſtir a ſtep from it. Multitudes were intereſted to diſcover him by their party zeal, their hopes and fears; and even his friends, by the ſmalleſt indiſcretion, might ruin him. Lord Wilmot being ſkulking in the neighbourhood, they joined him, and then agreed to put themſelves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous royaliſt, who lived at Bentley, a few miles diſtant. Charles's feet were ſo hurt by his trampling about in countrymen's ſhoes, which did not fit him, and in heavy boots, that he was obliged to ride on horſeback, and thus travelled to Bentley, attended by the Ponderell's. On his arrival, Lane propoſed his going to Briſtol, where he might find a ſhip to carry

carry him abroad. Mrs. Norton, a relation of Mr. Lane's, lived within three miles of that city, and it was propoſed to pay her a viſit. Mr. Lane therefore procured a paſs, which, during thoſe times of confuſion, was neceſſary, for his ſiſter Jane Lane and a ſervant, to travel towards Briſtol, in order to viſit a relation; and the king perſonating the ſervant, rode before the lady.

On their arrival at Mrs. Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended that ſhe had brought with her, as her ſervant, a poor lad, who was a neighbouring farmer's ſon, and ill of an ague; and begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Though Charles kept in his chamber, one Pope, the Butler, ſoon knew him; but he made him promiſe to keep the ſecret, and not reveal it even to his maſter.

It was now found, that no ſhip would ſet ſail from Briſtol for a month, either for France or Spain; and Charles was obliged to ſeek elſewhere for a paſſage. He therefore entruſted himſelf to colonel Windham of Dorſetſhire. For one natural effect of the long civil wars was, that every one's inclinations were thoroughly known; the courage and fidelity of moſt men had been put to the trial; and many of the royaliſts had been obliged to contrive places of concealment for themſelves, their friends, and moſt valuable effects; and the arts of eluding the enemy had been often practiſed. This was now a favourable circumſtance; for, as Charles often paſſed through the hands of the Catholics, the Prieſts-hole, that is, the

place

place where the Papiſts concealed their perſecuted prieſts, was ſometimes employed in ſheltering that diſtreſſed prince.

Charles continued in Windham's houſe ſeveral days; while his friends, both in Britain and every other part of Europe, were in ſuſpence with reſpect to his fortune. None knew whether he was dead or alive; and the report of his death being generally believed, his enemies became leſs vigilant in their ſearch after him. Attempts were made to procure a veſſel for his eſcape, but he ſtill met with diſappointments. Having left Windham's houſe, he was again obliged to return to it. He paſſed thro' many other adventures; aſſumed different diſguiſes; in every ſtep expoſed to imminent perils; and was even once detected by the ſagacity of a ſmith, who remarked, that his horſe's ſhoes had been made in the north, and not, as he pretended, in the weſt; and it was with difficulty he eſcaped. At length a veſſel was found at Shoreham, in Suſſex, in which he embarked. No leſs than forty men and women had, at different times, been privy to his concealment; and if he had not ſet ſail in that critical moment, it would have been impoſſible for him to eſcape. Thus, after his being forty-one days concealed, he arrived in ſafety at Feſcamp, in Normandy.

The total overthrow of monarchy, in the defeat of the Scots at Worceſter, was immediately followed by other triumphs of the parliament in Scotland. Stirling caſtle, though well provided for defence, made an early ſurrender;

render; and the records of the kingdom, with the crown and ſceptre, being taken there, were ſent to England. Dundee, in which were depoſited all the riches of the country, was taken by aſſault; and Monk, following the example and inſtructions of Cromwell, put all the inhabitants to the ſword. This cruel policy ſtruck ſuch a general terror through Scotland, that its towns and forts readily ſubmitted; and except a few highlanders under Argyle, and other royaliſt leaders, the whole nation was reduced to an entire ſubjection.

While a Scotch invaſion threatened the peace and ſafety of England, an extraordinary exertion of power was thought neceſſary to keep the Royaliſts and Preſbyterians in awe. A ſecond high court of juſtice was erected; and ſeveral who had accepted commiſſions from the king of Scots, were tried, condemned, and received ſentence of death. The earl of Derby, Sir Timothy Featherſtonehough, Benbowe, and others, taken priſoners after the battle of Worceſter, ſuffered the ſame puniſhment, by the authority of a court martial.

The parliament, attentive to the ſecurity and glory of their government, ſtrengthened their naval force; and putting the admiralty into commiſſion, fittted out a ſtrong fleet, under the command of Blake, Popham, and Deane. Blake, a man of courage, who had defended Lyme and Taunton with unſhaken intrepidity againſt the king, though he had hitherto been only accuſtomed to land ſervice, into which he had not entered till he was above fifty years of age,

age, now raiſed the glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever yet attained. Prince Rupert, who commanded the fleet entruſted to him by the king, had continually made prizes of the Engliſh veſſels; and Blake being ſent againſt him, attempted to block him up in Kinſale; but Rupert eſcaping from thence, fled towards the coaſt of Portugal. Blake purſued, and chaſed him into the Tagus, where he intended to attack him. But the king of Portugal refuſed him admittance, and aſſiſted the prince in making his eſcape. To be revenged of this partiality, the Engliſh admiral took twenty Portugueſe ſhips richly laden, and threatened ſtill farther vengeance; but the king of Portugal dreading ſo dangerous a foe, made all poſſible ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh republic; and was at laſt admitted to renew his alliance with England. Mean while prince Rupert, after loſing a great part of his ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, ſailed towards the Weſt Indies. Prince Maurice, his brother, was ſhip-wrecked in the voyage; and Rupert, after ſubſiſting by privateering on Engliſh and Spaniſh veſſels, returned to France, where the remains of his fleet were ſold for the uſe of Charles.

All the American ſettlements, except New England, which had been planted entirely by thoſe Puritans who fled from perſecution, adhered to the royal party, even after the ſettlement of the republic; and Sir George Ayſcough was ſent with a ſquadron to reduce them to obedience. Bermudas, Antigua, and Virginia,

ginia, were ſoon reduced. Barbadoes made ſome reſiſtance, but was at laſt obliged to ſubmit. With equal eaſe were Jerſey, Guernſey, and Scilly, brought under ſubjection to the republic; and the ſea, which had been much infeſted with privateers from theſe iſlands, was rendered ſafe to the Engliſh commerce. The Iſle of Man was defended by the counteſs of Derby, who, with great reluctance, yielded to the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the enemy. This lady had, during the civil wars, diſplayed a manly courage, by her reſolute defence of Latham-houſe againſt the parliament's forces; and was now the laſt perſon in the three kingdoms, and their dependent dominions, who ſubmitted to the victorious commonwealth.

Never did the annals of mankind furniſh an inſtance of a government newly eſtabliſhed ſo formidable to foreign ſtates, as was, at this time, the republic of England. London was full of ambaſſadors from the powers of Europe, to endeavour to excuſe paſt demerits, to renew former treaties, and to court ſtricter alliances with England. Nor did the multiplicity of foreign negociations, the conduct of war, or the neceſſary attention to guard the country from the attempts of its domeſtic enemies, occaſion the parliament to neglect the minutia of interior government. Excellent laws were enacted to correct the morals and manners of the people, without infringing their political rights; to guard the poor from the miſeries of undeſerved poverty; to protect ſociety in general from the impoſitions, fraud,

fraud, and rapacity of individuals; and to ſecure and extend the commerce of the country; and an act was alſo paſſed, that all law books ſhould be put into Engliſh; and all proceedings in law ſhould be in the Engliſh tongue, and written in an ordinary, uſual, and legible character, and not in that commonly called court-hand.

The parliament having ſent ambaſſadors extraordinary to negociate a ſtrict alliance with the Dutch, were exaſperated at the cold evaſive conduct of the States; and ſending back for their ambaſſadors, paſſed an act of navigation, which prohibited the importing from Aſia, Africa, and America, or from any part of Europe, any goods but in Engliſh bottoms, except the goods were the growth and manufacture of the country, from whence they were imported; and which prohibited the importing any ſalt-fiſh, whale-fin or oil, but thoſe caught or made by the people of England. In conſequence of this law, and of letters of reprizal granted to ſeveral merchants, on account of injuries received from the States, above eighty Dutch ſhips were taken. Upon this the Dutch inſtantly diſpatched three ambaſſadors to apologize to the parliament for their paſt conduct, and to propoſe a treaty on the propoſitions before offered them. The parliament now, unmoved by their ſolicitations and entreaties, abſolutely refuſed to repeal the above act; and inſtead of liſtening to their offered alliance, made high demands of retaliation for former injuries, even as far back as

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the unatoned maſſacre of Amboyna; inſiſted on the excluſive right of the ſubjects of Great Britain to the herring-fiſhery; complained of their allowing the murderers of Doriſlaus to eſcape, and of their conniving at the inſults to which their ambaſſadors, St. John and Strickland, had been expoſed in Holland.

The ſtates, alarmed at theſe ſypmtoms of an hoſtile diſpoſition in the parliament, equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty ſail, and took care, by their miniſters at London, to inform the council of ſtate of that armament. This intelligence, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Engliſh republic, was conſidered as a menace. A fleet of Dutch fiſhermen, refuſing tribute and homage to an Engliſh man of war, the ſhip fired, and ſunk one of their veſſels. The Dutch conſidering this as an act of hoſtility, laid an embargo on all the Engliſh ſhips in their ports; and in the beginning of 1652 appeared with a fleet of forty-five ſail before Portſmouth. The Engliſh marine were not yet in a condition to reſent the inſult; but on the 19th of May, Blake, with a ſquadron of twenty-ſix ſail, meeting in the Dover Road, a fleet of forty-two Dutchmen, commanded by Tromp, gave the ſignal to ſtrike. Tromp, inſtead of complying, fired a broad-ſide. This was returned with great ſpirit, by Blake, who, notwithſtanding his being only reinforced by eight veſſels, commanded by captain Bourn, maintained a fight for five hours, and ſunk one ſhip of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and Tromp, taking advan-

tage of the darkneſs, retired towards the coaſt of Holland.

The ill ſucceſs of this action, with the proſpect of its obvious conſequences, threw the ſtates into the utmoſt conſternation. They denied their having any intention to enter into hoſtilities; and aſſerted, from a narrative which Tromp had ſent of this engagement, that it was begun by Blake; and immediately diſpatched Paw, penſionary of Holland, as their ambaſſador extraordinary to London, to entreat the parliament, by all the bonds of their common religion, and common liberties, to avoid farther acts of hoſtility, till, by the examination of commiſſioners, into every circumſtance of the action, the truth ſhould be cleared up. It was with an ill grace, that the ſtates now urged thoſe arguments for amity, alliance, and union, which they had rejected when offered by the Engliſh parliament. Blake, ſupported by the teſtimony of all the captains in his fleet, denied every circumſtance of what they had advanced in their defence; and ſhewed, that at the very time when both nations were treating on conditions of alliance, the Dutch were perfidiouſly lying in wait for a favourable opportunity to deſtroy the naval power of the Engliſh, and to conteſt their claim to the ſovereignty of the ſeas. The Dutch ambaſſador earneſtly ſolicited, that an end ſhould be put to the hoſtilities between the two nations, and that the treaty ſo abruptly broken off ſhould be ſpeedily recommenced; but the parliament inſiſted, that as preliminaries to ſuch a treaty,

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all the ſhips and veſſels of the United Provinces, on meeting at ſea with any of the ſhips of war of the State of England, or in their ſervice, and wearing the flag, ſhould ſtrike the flag and lower the top-ſail as they paſſed by; that they ſhould likewiſe ſubmit to be viſited, if required, and perform all other marks of reſpect to the Commonwealth of England, to whom the dominion of the Britiſh ſeas belonged; and that without farther delay, reparation ſhould be made for all the damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh.

The Dutch, refuſing to comply with theſe demands, the parliament diſpatched orders to commence a general war againſt the United Provinces. The Dutch herring-buſſes, eſcorted by twelve men of war, were all taken or diſperſed by Blake. Trump purſued the victor with a fleet of above a hundred ſail. Though inferior in ſtrength, the intrepid Blake did not ſhun the combat; but the intended engagement was ſuddenly interrupted by a violent ſtorm. Blake, without ſuſtaining loſs, took ſhelter in the Engliſh harbours; while the enemy was diſperſed by the tempeſt, and received great damage.

On the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1652, De Ruiter, the moſt famous naval commander in Europe, with fifty ſhips of war, and thirty merchantmen, was attacked by Sir George Ayſcough near Plymouth; and though Ayſcough's ſquadron conſiſted only of forty ſail, yet he maintained an equal fight, till night put an end to the engagement. The enemy did not care to

renew the combat; but from the damage Ayſcough had ſuſtained, ſailed off the next day unpurſued. On the twenty-eighth of October, Blake, ſeconded by Bourne and Pen, met a Dutch ſquadron on the coaſt of Kent, nearly equal in number, commanded by de Witte and de Ruiter, when the Dutch rear-admiral was boarded and taken, two other veſſels were ſunk, and one blown up.

But in the Mediterranean, captain Badily was attacked by a very ſuperior force, and defeated by Van Galen: Badily, however, fought ſo gallantly, that the victory coſt the Dutch admiral his life. On the twenty fourth of November, this ſucceſs of the Dutch was followed by an advantage gained near the Goodwin Sands, by Tromp and De Ruiter over Blake; who, though more than uſually inferior in ſtrength to the enemy, made ſo brave a defence, that the event of the battle was, for a long time, dubious. The commanders and officers, as well as the common ſeamen on both ſides, exerted very extraordinary efforts of perſonal bravery: Blake himſelf was wounded; two of his ſhips were taken; one was burned; and, but for the friendly covert of a dark night, the Engliſh fleet had been all loſt. After this victory, obtained merely by the ſuperiority of numbers, Trump, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-maſt, as if reſolved to ſweep all the Engliſh veſſels from the ſea.

Short-lived were the idle triumphs of the enemy. The republic of England fitted out a fleet of eighty ſail, commanded by Blake; and

and under him by Dean and Monk. On the eighteenth of February 1653, the Engliſh fleet lying off Portland, deſcried, near break of day, three hundred Dutch merchant-men, eſcorted by ſeventy-ſix men of war. Tromp, and under him De Ruiter, commanded the Dutch. This was the moſt furious battle that had been yet fought between the two nations. Three days was the engagement continued with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy; but victory, at length, declared in favour of the Engliſh. Thirty Dutch merchant-men fell into the hands of the enemy; eleven ſhips of war were loſt; two thouſand men were ſlain, and near 1500 taken priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were ſhattered, had but one ſunk; but the number of their ſlain was not much inferior to that of the Dutch.

The Hollanders, beſides their loſs of reputation as a maritime power, and their being conſiderably weakened in their naval ſtrength, had ſuffered greatly in their trade, by this unſucceſsful war. Their whole commerce was cut off in the channel; it was much infeſted in the Baltick; their fiſheries were entirely ſuſpended, and above 1600 of their ſhips had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh. Thus they had learned, by plunging themſelves into an unneceſſary war, to become ſenſible of their inferiority; and finding that a longer conteſt muſt end in their deſtruction, they made advances towards a peace. The parliament beheld their ſtate of humiliation with pleaſure, but haughtily rejected their propoſals. Scot-

land, reduced to a ſtate of entire ſubjection, had, with alacrity, accepted the offer of being incorporated with the Engliſh republic. Deputies from its counties and boroughs were to be permitted to have a ſeat and voice in the governing aſſembly of the Britiſh empire; Engliſh judges were ſent down to adminiſter juſtice to the Scots; and all authority and juriſdiction derived from any other power but that of the parliament of England, was aboliſhed in Scotland and its dependent iſles.

The ſame plan of union was to extend to the Dutch; and the parliament was founding the baſis of empire on the principles of univerſal liberty. The United Provinces were humbled ſo far as to accept of almoſt any terms impoſed upon them; and the declared enmity of the ſeveral courts and ſtates of Europe, was turned to humble and earneſt ſolicitations for friendſhip and alliance. But at this full period of national glory, the intereſted views of one citizen, diſappointed the promiſed harveſt, and deprived the Engliſh of that liberty, for which, at the expence of their blood and treaſure, they had ſo long and bravely contended.

The zealous Republicans had, upon all occaſions, ſet up the fleet in oppoſition to the army, and urged the neceſſity of diminiſhing the land forces; for which, as there was now no danger of a civil war, there was no occaſion; and Cromwell plainly perceiving, from the whole train of their proceedings, that they had entertained a jealouſy of his power and ambi-

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tion, reſolved to prevent their putting a ſtop to his ambitious views. He therefore ſummoned a general council of officers, moſt of whom owed their advancement to his favour, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The general officers conſidered the parliament as both their creature and their rival; and thought that they themſelves were entitled to ſhare among them thoſe offices and riches, of which its members had ſo long kept poſſeſſion; and therefore readily voted a remonſtrance to the parliament, and an account of the ſtate of religious, civil, and military grievances, was immediately drawn up, and preſented to the houſe. That aſſembly not only received it civilly, but returned thanks to the petitioners for remembering them of any errors they might have committed in the exerciſe of their duty; and inſtantly proceeded to redreſs the grievances complained of, particularly to ſatisfy the arrears of the army, by a vigorous application to the ſale of delinquent, and other eſtates*.

Cromwell and his officers, thus foiled in their firſt attempt, inceſſantly preſſed the parliament, on the popular topic of putting a period to their power, and leaving the nation at liberty to chuſe their repreſentatives. The parliament, upon this, reſumed the queſtion of appointing a certain time for their diſſolution; debated on a new plan of repreſentation, and paſſed a reſolution, that thirty repreſentatives

* Mrs. Macaulay.

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ſhould be admitted from Scotland, and as many from Ireland.

On the twentieth of April 1653, while Cromwell, with his party, were in full debate, colonel Ingoldſby brought intelligence, that the parliament were met, and were proceeding in matters, which would occaſion ſeveral debates before they could be diſſolved. Cromwell ſtarting up in a ſeeming rage, ordered ſome of the officers to fetch a party of ſoldiers; and a body of three hundred being brought, he haſted with them to the houſe; where, placing ſome of them at the door, ſome at the lobby, and others on the ſtairs, he went in, and firſt addreſſed himſelf to St. John, telling him, that he had come with the purpoſe of doing what grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly, with tears, beſought the Lord not to impoſe upon him. He then ſat down, and for ſome time heard the debates on the bill of diſſolution. At length he beckoned Harriſon, and told him, that he now judged the parliament ripe for being diſſolved. "Sir, ſaid Harriſon, the work is very great "and dangerous. I deſire you ſeriouſly to "conſider, before you engage in it." "You "ſay well," replied the general, and ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour. When the queſtion was ready to be put, he ſaid to Harriſon, "This is the time. I muſt do it;" and ſtarting up, reproached the parliament for tyranny, ambition, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, "For ſhame, cried "he to the parliament! Get ye gone: give

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"place to honeſter men; to thoſe who will "more faithfully diſcharge their truſt. You "are no longer a parliament. I tell you, "You are no longer a parliament. The Lord "has done with you. He has choſen other "inſtruments for the carrying on this work." On Sir Peter Wentworth's obſerving, that this was the firſt time he had ever heard ſuch unbecoming language given to the parliament, and that it was the more enormous, as it came from their ſervant, and a ſervant they had highly obliged; Cromwell ſtepped into the midſt of the houſe, where, interrupting Wentworth's ſpeech, he hollowed out, "Come, come, I "will put an end to your prating. You are "no parliament. I ſay, you are no parlia-"ment. I will put an end to your ſitting. "Call them in, call them in." Upon this, the ſerjeant attending the parliament opened the door to colonel Worſley, who entered with two files of muſqueteers. Cromwell then telling the houſe, that he had beſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay him, than put him on ſuch work; and repeating his abuſe to the aſſembly in general, and to ſeveral individuals in particular, forced the ſpeaker out of the chair, and caſting his eyes on the mace, told a ſoldier to take away that fool's bawble; and having driven the members out of the houſe, he himſelf went out the laſt; and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

As the ſame violence that had diſſolved the parliament, annihilated the authority of the council

council of ſtate, the only viſible power now exiſting, was that of the army, whoſe leaders, two days after, publiſhed a declaration, in which they, with the moſt acrimonious language, aſperſed the parliament, by loading that aſſembly with many groundleſs calumnies. They then, by their own authority, iſſued orders for all civil officers, to proceed as formerly in their functions; formed themſelves into a new council of ſtate; and took upon themſelves the whole adminiſtration of the civil and military government. The people ſhewed leſs indignation againſt an authority founded on ſuch manifeſt uſurpation, than might naturally be expected. On the contrary, Cromwell received congratulatory addreſſes from the different bodies of the army, the fleet, and many of the chief corporations and counties of England; and, in particular, from the ſeveral Independent congregations, diſperſed throughout the kingdom; while the two parties of Preſbyterians and Royaliſts beheld, with pleaſure, the ruinous diviſions of thoſe who had ſo ſucceſsfully oppoſed their different views.

The Republicans, who were thus treated by Cromwell, were thoſe whoſe reſentment he had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend. That party, beſides the Independents, contained two ſets of men of the moſt oppoſite principles. The firſt and moſt numerous were the Millenarians, or Fifth Monarchy Men, who expected, that Chriſt would ſuddenly make his ſecond appearance upon the earth, and reign for a thouſand years; and in the mean while, that the ſaints were

were alone entitled to govern; and that the dominion being founded in grace, all diſtinction of magiſtracy muſt be aboliſhed, except what aroſe from piety and holineſs. The ſecond were the Deiſts, who had no other object than political liberty, they denied the truth of revelation, and hoped for a greater degree of freedom than they could ever expect to enjoy under a monarchy.

Notwithſtanding many artful attempts, made by Cromwell to procure an invitation to aſſume the whole buſineſs of adminiſtration, it was determined by the army, that the power of government, and the work of reformation, till the conſtitution could be ſettled on a ſolid baſis, ſhould be aſſigned to a body of a hundred and twenty eight perſons, choſen from the different towns and counties of England; to five for Scotland, and ſix for Ireland; and theſe being ſummoned in the name of Cromwell, he pretended, by his ſole act and deed, to devolve upon them the whole authority of the ſtate. They were to exerciſe this legiſlative power during fifteen months, and were afterwards to chuſe the ſame number of perſons, who might ſucceed them in that high and important office.

On the meeting of this convention, Cromwell preſented to them the inſtrument of their future authority, after having made a tedious harangue, in which he told them, that this was the day of the power of Chriſt, who was owned by their call, and that it was the greateſt mercy, next to his own Son, God had vouchſafed to his people. On the following day they

met

met in the houſe of parliament; and after reading the inſtrument, proceeded to vote, that Cromwell, Lambert, Harriſon, Deſborough, and colonel Tomlinſon, ſhould ſit amongſt them. They aſſumed the ſtile of the Parliament of England; named their ſpeaker, eſtabliſhed committees for the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; for the law, the army, and the navy; for inſpecting the treaſuries, and regulating offices and ſalaries; for the buſineſs of trade and corporation, and ſeveral other branches of buſineſs.

Mean while the Dutch war was carried on with great vigour; and on the ſecond of June, two numerous fleets of the contending powers, met near the coaſt of Flanders. Blake, Penn, Dean, and Lawſon, commanded the Engliſh. Van Tromp, de Witte, and de Ruiter, the Dutch. After a hot conteſt of two days, the well-tempered valour of the Engliſh prevailed; and the enemy, who had ſuſtained great loſs, were driven into their harbours. Upon this, an ambaſſador, with propoſals of peace, was diſpatched to the Engliſh parliament; but they refuſed to liſten to any other terms, but an entire incorporation.

The Dutch reſolved to make another effort to ſave their ſinking republic, and with incredible expedition fitted out a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail, in which were ſhips of a ſuperior ſize to any they had yet uſed. To this formidable armament the parliament oppoſed a fleet of ninety ſail, commanded by Monk, Lawſon, and Penn. As the Dutch, from the

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preſent ſize of their ſhips, had, in a great meaſure, obviated the diſadvantages of former engagements, the victory was dearly bought by the Engliſh. The battle began on the thirty-firſt of July, and continued two days, till Van Tromp being ſhot by a muſket-ball, as he was giving orders on the deck of his ſhip, ſo diſcouraged the Dutch, that they retired with precipitation, while the Engliſh ſhips were ſo diſabled as to be obliged to return home. The Dutch loſt in this engagement twenty-four men of war, 4000 men ſlain, beſides 1000 taken out of the ſea, by the humanity of the Engliſh ſailors, though Monk, their commander, had given orders that no quarter ſhould be given or taken.

The parliament, in order to bring the Dutch war to an advantageous concluſion, made all the neceſſary preparations of men and money; they rewarded the officers of the navy, made proviſion for the widows and children of thoſe officers who had been ſlain in the ſervice; beſtowed immunities on the common ſailors, and appointed hoſpitals for their reception; enlarged the power of the committee, eſtabliſhed their trade, made advances towards reforming the ſyſtem of law, and rendering its execution leſs tedious and burthenſome to the ſubject; made regulations with reſpect to priſoners confined for debt, by which the innocent and unhappy were to be diſcharged, and the vicious puniſhed; corrected the abuſes of the courts of juſtice, and inveſted the power of marrying in juſtices of the peace, and lay-commiſſioners.

Cromwell being diſſatisfied with theſe proceedings, prevailed on thoſe of the members who were entirely at his devotion, to enter the houſe early in the morning, and inſtead of entering upon buſineſs, they bitterly inveighed againſt the tranſactions of the parliament. As ſeveral members vindicated the aſſembly, the houſe had time to fill, when Cromwell's party abruptly breaking off the debate, ſaid, there was now no leiſure to wrangle; but ſomething muſt be done, to prevent the deſtruction of the nation; and riſing from their ſeats, with Rous, the ſpeaker, at their head, repaired to Whitehall, where they ſubſcribed a writing, by which they reſigned their power into the hands of Cromwell, who lifting up his eyes with a ſeeming aſtoniſhment, declined accepting it, till, through the importunity of Lambert, and others of his party, he not only complied, but ſent a party of ſoldiers to drive out of the houſe thoſe members, who, notwithſtanding the earneſt importunity of his creatures, had continued to ſit in their parliamentary capacity.

In the council of field officers held at Whitehall, the writing of reſignation was produced, and another ſcheme of government propoſed by Lambert, for tempering the liberty of a commonwealth by veſting the ſupreme power in one perſon, who ſhould be entitled protector; and communicated the contents of an inſtrument already prepared of ſuch a plan of government. But though ſeveral objections were made,

made, it was immediately voted, that Cromwell ſhould be declared protector.

The principal articles of the inſtrument are theſe: the protector was appointed ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth: juſtice was to be adminiſtered in his name, and from him all magiſtracy and honours derived: the right of peace, war, and alliance reſted in him; but here he was to act entirely by the advice, and with the conſent of his council. This council was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen perſons, who were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members were to name three, of whom the protector was to chuſe one. The power of the ſword was veſted in the protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the interval: he had the power of pardoning all crimes, except murder and treaſon; and all forfeitures devolved to him. He was to ſummon a parliament every three years, and allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills they paſſed were to be preſented for his conſent; but if it was not obtained within twenty days, they were to become laws by the authority of parliament. A ſtanding army was eſtabliſhed for Britain and Ireland of 20,000 foot, and 10,000 horſe; and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport: theſe were not to be diminiſhed without the protector's conſent. The protector and council were to have the power of enacting laws, during the intervals of par-

liament, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treaſurer, admiral, chief-governors of Scotland and Ireland, and the chief juſtices of both the benches, were to be choſen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. Toleration was provided for all thoſe who profeſſed faith in Jeſus Chriſt, with an exception to popery and prelacy; and to ſuch as, under the profeſſion of Chriſt, held forth and practiſed licentiouſneſs. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death, his place was immediately to be ſupplied by the council.

Cromwell, thus raiſed to ſupreme dignity by the moſt violent and irregular means, was, on the ſixteenth of December, inaugurated into the office of lord protector of the united realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with all the parade of royal pageantry. He ſet out from Whitehall to the court of chancery, preceded by the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal of England, the judges and barons of the ſeveral benches in their robes, the council of the commonwealth, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, in their ſcarlet gowns; the recorder, town-clerk, and ſword-bearer, with the cap of maintenance and ſword, but not erected. Cromwell followed in his own coach, with his life-guard, attended by ſeveral gentlemen, bareheaded, and ſeveral of the chief officers of the army, with their hats on. In the court of chancery was placed a rich chair of ſtate, with carpets

carpets on the floor. The lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal ranged themſelves on each ſide the chair, the uſurper on the left hand; round it the judges and council of ſtate; the lord-mayor and aldermen on the right ſide of the court, and the chief officers of the army on the left, all bare-headed. The company being properly ranged, major-general Lambert, after declaring the diſſolution of the parliament, and the exigency of the times, deſired the lord-general, in the name of the army and the three nations, to accept of the protectorate. Cromwell, with ſeeming reluctance, giving his conſent, the inſtrument of government was read aloud; after which the form of an oath was preſented to the uſurper, to preſerve inviolate the matters contained in the inſtrument; and in all other reſpects to govern the nations according to their laws, cuſtoms, and ſtatutes. During the reading of this oath, Cromwell lifted up his eyes to heaven, with the appearance of great ſolemnity and devotion, and then publicly ſubſcribed it. This ceremony over, Lambert preſented him, on his knees, with a ſword in the ſcabbard, repreſenting the civil ſword; this he accepted, and put off his own, to intimate that he was no longer ruled by the military one. He was then invited by the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the judges, and the officers of the army, to take poſſeſſion of the chair of ſtate, as lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Upon which he ſat down in it, with his head covered, while the court continued bare. The lords

commiſſioners then delivered up the purſe and ſeals; and the lord-mayor, the ſword; and theſe being delivered back, the court roſe, and returned in the following order to Whitehall: firſt, the aldermen and the members of the council; after them the judges; then the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, who were followed by the life guards and four ſerjeants at arms, carrying the maces belonging to the courts of chancery, the council, and parliament. The lord-mayor went immediately before the uſurper, with the ſword; and the officers of the army were round his perſon. At Weſtminſter-hall gate they took coach, when the lord-mayor rode bare-headed. At the Banqueting-houſe, Whitehall, Lockier, Cromwell's chaplain, made an exhortation to the company, which being ended, they were diſmiſſed by the ſoldiers firing three times.

The Dutch now offered their propoſals with ſucceſs; and a peace was ſigned by Cromwell on the fifteenth of April, 1654, in which a defenſive league was made between the two republics. Each of them agreed to baniſh the enemies of the other; thoſe who had been concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna, were to be puniſhed, if any remained alive; the honour of the flag was yielded to the Engliſh; 85,000 l. were ſtipulated to be paid by the Dutch Eaſt-India company, for loſſes ſuſtained by the Engliſh company; and the iſland of Polerone, in the Eaſt Indies, was ceded to the latter.

The

The Dutch ſtruck medals in honour of this peace, and poetical panegyrics were compoſed on Cromwell. The two univerſities of Cambridge and Oxford publiſhed poems on the happineſs of their country, and the glories of the peace-maker; and the chief magiſtrates of London paid an early court to him, by inviting him to a ſplendid entertainment.

Some time after, a remarkable act of juſtice gave great ſatisfaction to the people. Don Pontaleon Sa, a knight of Malta, brother-in-law to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion, to revenge a ſuppoſed inſult, had come upon the Exchange, armed and attended by ſeveral ſervants, where he murdered a gentleman, whom he miſtook for the perſon who had given him offence; and then, with his accomplices, took refuge with his brother. A mob having gathered round the ambaſſador's houſe, threatened to drag out the criminal. Cromwell, inſtead of ſending troops to annoy the innocent multitude, who were acting on principles of juſtice, diſpatched an officer, with a party of ſoldiers, to demand the murderer. The ambaſſador deſired an audience; but he ſent him word, that if his brother and his accomplices were not given up, he could not anſwer for the conſequence. The offenders were therefore ſeized in the ambaſſador's houſe; brought to their trial, and condemned; and notwithſtanding the proteſtations of all the ambaſſadors reſiding in England, who pleaded the privileges of their office, Don Pontaleon Sa was executed

executed on a ſcaffold on Tower-hill, on the fifth of July 1654. Though this act of juſtice was conſidered as the greateſt inſult on the king of Portugal, yet that monarch had been brought ſo low by the republican parliament, that he was obliged to acquieſce; and his ambaſſador, on the very ſame day his brother ſuffered, ſigned a treaty of peace and alliance with Cromwell, of great advantage to the commerce of England.

A new parliament aſſembled on the third of September 1654, the day on which Cromwell had gained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, and which he always conſidered as fortunate. The inſtrument of government, by which it was aſſembled, had, in every particular, followed the plan preſcribed by the republican parliament. The ſmall boroughs, which had been the ſupport of miniſterial influence and corruption, were deprived of their right of election; and of four hundred members, the number appointed to repreſent England, 270 were choſen by the counties. The reſt were elected by London, and the moſt conſiderable corporations. The lower populace, ſo eaſily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections; and an eſtate of two hundred pounds value, was neceſſary to entitle any one to a vote. The elections of this parliament were conducted with perfect freedom, except, that all Papiſts, and ſuch Royaliſts and their ſons as had borne arms againſt the parliament, were deprived of the liberty of electing or being

ing elected. Thirty members were returned from Ireland, and as many from Scotland.

Cromwell, as lord protector, went to meet the parliament, and proceeded from Whitehall to Weſtminſter, and from thence to the Painted Chamber, in a moſt ſplendid proceſſion. Firſt appeared ſome hundreds of gentlemen, with the life-guards; next, immediately before his coach, his pages and lackies richly dreſſed; on the right of the coach Walter Strickland, one of his council and captain of his guards, with the maſter of the ceremonies, both on foot; on the left captain Howard, of the life-guards: in the coach with him, were his ſon Henry and general Lambert, both bare-headed: after the coach rode the maſter of the horſe, with a led horſe richly capariſoned; next the commiſſioners of the great ſeal and of the treaſury, ſeveral of the council in coaches, and the ordinary guards. Having ſent for the commons to attend him in the Painted Chamber, he made a ſpeech of three hours long; in which he endeavoured to vindicate his uſurpation, under the pretence of neceſſity; and with his uſual hypocriſy proteſted, that it was by the over-ruling hand of God, and not by any contrivance of his own, that he was raiſed to the ſtate of eminence he then held in the government of his country. After much virulent abuſe on all the different denominations of republicans, he applauded the inſtrument of government, by which he himſelf had been inveſted with ſovereignty; and exhorted the members

members to aſſiſt him in ſettling the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution on a firm baſis.

The parliament having choſen Lenthall for their ſpeaker, immediately entered into an examination of that inſtrument of government, on the authority of which Cromwell pretended to hold his power. The greateſt liberty was uſed in arraigning his new government; and even his perſonal character and conduct did not eſcape without cenſure. The protector, ſurprized and enraged at this refractory ſpirit in the parliament, ſent for them to the Painted Chamber; and with an air of authority, inveighed againſt their conduct; told them, that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his title, ſince the ſame inſtrument of government which made them a parliament, had inveſted him with the protectorſhip; that ſome points in the new conſtitution were ſuppoſed to be fundamental, and were not on any pretence to be altered or diſputed; and that among theſe were the government of the nation, by a ſingle perſon and a parliament; and that they had obliged him to preſcribe to them a form of recognition, which they muſt ſubmit to ſign, before they could meet any more as a parliament.

On the return of the members to their houſe, they found a guard placed, to prevent any entering till they had ſubſcribed an engagement to be true and faithful to the lord protector and the commonwealth of England. The eminent aſſertors of liberty refuſed to ſign it; and the houſe thus garbled, declared Cromwell

well to be Lord Protector during his life, and agreed to the other parts of the inſtrument of government, which they examined article by article. They however refuſed to entail the ſovereignty on his poſterity, which was propoſed to them, or to take an oath not to alter the government by one ſingle perſon and a parliament. Very free topics were advanced, with the general approbation of the houſe; and during the whole courſe of their proceedings, they did not ſend up one bill to the protector; who being informed, that conſpiracies were entered into between the members and ſome malecontent officers, made haſte to diſſolve ſo dangerous an aſſembly. By the inſtrument of government to which he had ſworn, no parliament could be diſſolved till it had ſat five months; but Cromwell pretended, that a month contained but twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practiſed in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to his reckoning, being elapſed, he ſent for the parliament on the twenty-ſecond of January 1655; and after making them a tedious, confuſed, and angry ſpeech, diſſolved them.

The members of this aſſembly, on returning to their counties, propagated that ſpirit of diſcontent with which they themſelves were agitated. On which the Royaliſts, whoſe hopes had revived on the deſtruction of the republican government, were encouraged, by the diſſatisfaction of all parties, and in concert with Charles, entered into a general conſpiracy; and

and appointed the eighteenth of April for their riſing. Sir Thomas Harris was to head a party in Shropſhire; Sir Thomas Middleton in Wales; Sir Hugh Pollard in Devonſhire; Mr. Arundell in Cornwall; Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff and colonel Penruddock in Wiltſhire; and Sir Henry Slingſby and Sir Richard Maleverer in Yorkſhire. The protector's adminiſtration was extremely vigilant; for Thurloe, his ſecretary, had ſpies every where; and as Manning, who had acceſs to Charles's family, kept a regular correſpondence with him, it was not difficult for Cromwell to obtain intelligence of the deſigns of a party who valued themſelves more on their zeal, than on ſecrecy and ſobriety. Before the arrival of the day, ſome of the conſpirators were thrown into priſon; and moſt of the reſt, terrified at the danger of the undertaking, remained quiet at home. In the weſt alone, the conſpiracy broke out into action; while the ſheriff and judges were holding the aſſizes at Saliſbury, Penruddock entered that city with about 200 horſe; and having made them priſoners, proclaimed Charles Stuart king: but, contrary to his expectations, he received no acceſſion of force; and ſo prevalent was the terror of the eſtabliſhed government, that after his having in vain wandered about for ſome time with his few followers, they were ſuppreſſed by one troop of horſe. The leaders of the conſpiracy were capitally puniſhed, and the reſt tranſported to Barbadoes.

Cromwell's ſo eaſily ſubduing this inſurrection, was eſteemed by him a ſingular felicity; for

for he could not, without danger, have aſſembled a conſiderable body of his mutinous army in order to ſuppreſs it. The very inſurrection itſelf he conſidered as a fortunate event, ſince it both proved the reality of thoſe conſpiracies which his enemies repreſented as mere fictions, and furniſhed him with an excuſe for fleecing the royaliſts. Under the pretence of their ingratitude for paſt indulgences, an edict was now iſſued, with the conſent of his council, for exacting the tenth-penny from that whole party, in order, as is pretended, to make them pay the expences to which the public was continually expoſed by their mutinous diſpoſition.

To carry this impoſition, which commonly paſſed by the name of decimation, the protector inſtituted eleven military juriſdictions, over each of which was appointed a major-general, who had a power to levy the new tax on the royaliſts, and all the arrears due on their former compoſitions and articles; and there lay no appeal from their authority, but to Cromwell himſelf. Under colour of theſe powers, the major-generals acted as if abſolute maſters of the property and perſon of every ſubject; and it was concluded, that the maſk of liberty was now thrown aſide, and that the nation muſt continue the ſubjects of military and deſpotic government.

It is now proper to take a general view of the ſtate of Europe, and to conſider the meaſures at this time embraced by England with the neighbouring princes. In Germany, a moſt deſtructive war of thirty years, between

the Papiſts and Proteſtants, was at laſt finiſhed; and by the treaty of Weſtphalia, were, among other things, compoſed thoſe fatal religious quarrels, and thoſe which had been excited by the Palatine's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young elector Palatine was reſtored to part of his dominions, and the rights, privileges, and authority of the ſeveral members of the Germanic body of both religions, were fixed and aſcertained.

Charles X. of Sweden, had aſcended the throne after the voluntary reſignation of Chriſtina, and being ſtimulated by the fame of Guſtavus, and by his own martial diſpoſition, carried his conquering arms to the ſouth of the Baltic, and gained the celebrated victory of Warſaw. The protector, ever deſirous of ſupporting the Proteſtant intereſt, was fond of forming a confederacy with him.

The tranſactions of the parliament and protector with France, were various and complicated. Lewis the Thirteenth died, leaving his ſon, an infant four years old, and his widow Anne of Auſtria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarine ſucceeding Richelieu in the miniſtry, the eſtabliſhment of the royal authority, and the reduction of the Auſtrian family, were purſued with ardour and ſucceſs. Battles were won, towns and fortreſſes taken, and the French daily acquired a greater aſcendant over the Spaniards. But ſuddenly, from ſome intrigues of the court, and ſome diſcontents in the courts of judicature, inteſtine commotions were excited, and every thing relapſed into confuſion:

confuſion: but theſe rebellions of the French, not being enobled by the ſpirit of liberty, were conducted with little bloodſhed; for the male-contents, though ſeconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the prince of Condé, was ſoon either expelled or ſubdued; and the French, having loſt a few conqueſts, returned with freſh vigour to the acquiſition of new dominions. During theſe commotions, Charles and his mother paſt moſt of their time at Paris; and notwithſtanding their near connection of blood, received but few civilities, and ſtill leſs ſupport from the court of France. The baniſhed queen had a moderate penſion aſſigned her; but it was ſo ill paid, and her credit ran ſo low, that one morning when the cardinal de Retz waited on her, ſhe told him, that her daughter, the princeſs Henrietta, was obliged to lie a-bed, for want of a fire to warm her. To ſuch a condition was reduced a queen of England, the daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, even in the midſt of Paris!

The Engliſh parliament, however, on their aſſuming the ſovereignty of the ſtate, reſented the countenance which the French court gave the royal family; and the Engliſh merchants complaining of injuries they had ſuffered, they iſſued letters of reprizal upon the French. Blake attacked and ſeized a whole ſquadron of ſhips that were carrying ſupplies to Dunkirk, then cloſely beſieged by the Spaniards; and that town being diſappointed of theſe ſupplies, fell into the enemy's hands. The French miniſters now finding it neceſſary to change their

meaſures, treated Charles with ſuch indifference, that he withdrew, to prevent the indignity of being deſired to leave the kingdom. He firſt went to Spa, and from thence retired to Cologne, where he lived two years on a penſion of about 60,000 l. per annum, paid him by the court of France, and on the contributions ſent him by his friends in England. Sir Edward Hyde, and the marquis of Ormond, were, in the mean time, his chief friends and confidents.

The French miniſtry had thought it prudent to bend to the Engliſh parliament, and continued to pay the utmoſt reſpect to the protector. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the councils of France were directed, readily complied with every propoſal made to him; and after a long negociation, a treaty of peace was ſigned; and and in that copy which remained in England, the protector's name was inſerted before the king's.

The court of Spain had been ſtill more forward in their advances to the proſperous parliament and the protector. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spaniſh envoy, was the firſt public miniſter who acknowledged the authority of the new republic; and the parliament, in return for this civility, ſent Aſcham as their envoy into Spain: but no ſooner had this miniſter arrived at Madrid, than ſome of the baniſhed royaliſts, inflamed by their inveterate hatred, broke into his chamber, and murdered both him and his ſecretary; and afterwards taking ſanctuary in the churches, moſt of them made

made their eſcape; but one of the criminals being taken, ſuffered death. Spain, at this time, retained nothing of her former grandeur, except the haughty pride of her counſels, and the hatred and jealouſy of her neighbours. Portugal had thrown off her yoke, and eſtabliſhed her monarchy in the houſe of Braganza: Catalonia, whoſe privileges had been violated, had revolted to France: Naples was ſhaken with popular convulſions: the Spaniſh Netherlands were invaded by ſuperior forces, and ſeemed ready to change their maſter: the Spaniſh infantry, once ſo formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in the fields of Rocroy; and though that prince, on his being baniſhed France, ſuſtained the falling fortunes of Spain, by his activity and valour, he could only hope to protract, and not prevent, the ruin of that kingdom.

Had Cromwell only ſtudied his own intereſt, he would have maintained an exact neutrality between France and Spain; and would not have hazarded his unſettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend aſſiſtance to domeſtic faction, and overturn his tottering throne: but his magnanimity undervalued danger. The extenſive dominion, and yet extreme weakneſs of Spain in the Weſt Indies, with the intrepid courage and great naval power of England, were circumſtances which excited the ambition of the enterprizing protector, and made him hope, that by ſome gainful conqueſt, he might for ever render illuſtrious, that dominion which he had aſſumed over

his country. Should he fail in obtaining theſe acquiſitions, the treaſures which muſt annually croſs the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a ſure prey to the Engliſh navy, and would ſupport his military force, without his laying new burthens on the diſcontented people. Beſides, the Spaniards were much more bigotted Papiſts than the French, and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the Inquiſition, whoſe rigours they had refuſed to mitigate on Cromwell's ſolicitation. The protector, actuated by theſe motives, equipped two conſiderable fleets, one of which, conſiſting of thirty capital ſhips, was ſent to the Mediterranean under Blake, whoſe fame was now ſpread over Europe. No Engliſh fleet, except during the cruſades, had ever before ſailed in thoſe ſeas; and from one extremity to the other, there were no naval force, Chriſtian or Mahometan, able to reſiſt this fleet.

Blake, caſting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained from the duke of Tuſcany, reparation for ſome loſſes which the Engliſh commerce had ſuſtained from him. He then ſailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to free all the Engliſh who had been taken captives by that piratical ſtate, and to conclude a peace, by which his ſubjects were reſtrained from farther violences on the Engliſh.

Blake then preſented himſelf before Tunis, and demanded the reſtitution of an Engliſh ſhip they had taken, with the liberty of the captives. The Dey refuſed compliance, and bad him look to his caſtles of Porto Farino and Goletta,

Goletta, and do his worſt. Blake needed not to be rouzed by ſuch a bravado: he drew his ſhips up to the caſtles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He then ſent a large detachment of ſailors, in their long-boats, into the harbour, and burned every ſhip which lay there; and afterwards retreated without any other loſs than that of twenty-five men killed and wounded. The ſucceſs of this intrepid action, filled all Europe with amazement. The governor of Tripoly immediately concluded a peace with Blake on his own terms; and the Tuniſines readily ſubmitted to all his demands in behalf of the Engliſh.

The other fleet was of equal ſize: it was commanded by Pen, and had on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables; and about 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtophers. In what place to make a deſcent, was left to the judgment of the commanders; and they reſolved to attempt Hiſpaniola. On the approach of the Engliſh, the Spaniards at St. Domingo, the only place of ſtrength in the iſland, deſerted their houſes, and fled into the woods. Nine thouſand men were diſembarked ten leagues from that town; and being without guides, wandered four days through the woods without proviſions; and what was ſtill more intolerable in that ſultry climate, without water. The Spaniards recovering their ſpirits, attacked them; and the Engliſh fainting with hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, were routed; and ſix hundred of them ſlain,

ſlain, while the reſt were chaſed on board their veſſels.

In order to atone for this unproſperous attempt, the Engliſh commanders bent their courſe to Jamaica, where the inhabitants being unacquainted with the ſucceſs of their countrymen, and imagining they were come warm from the conqueſt of Hiſpaniola, delivered up that fertile iſland without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England; and the protector ſent them both to the Tower. The conqueſt of Jamaica was, indeed, of greater importance than Cromwell had imagined; yet it was much inferior to the vaſt projects he had formed. He, however, gave orders to ſupport it with men and money; and that iſland has, ever ſince, remained in the hands of the Engliſh.

The news of this expedition no ſooner arrived in Europe, than the Spaniards declared war againſt England, and ſeized all the ſhips of the Engliſh merchants which came in their way. The trade with Spain, which was very profitable, was cut off; and it is computed, that near 1500 veſſels, in a few years, fell into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, having received new orders, prepared for hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. As this war with Spain had been begun by an unwarrantable violation of treaty, ſeveral ſea-officers, having entertained ſcruples of conſcience with regard to its juſtice, threw up their commiſſions and retired: for they thought, that no command

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of their ſuperiors could juſtify a war that was contrary to the principles of equity.

For ſome time Blake lay off Cadiz, in order to intercept the plate fleet, but was at laſt obliged, by want of water, to ſail towards Portugal, when he left captain Stayner on the coaſt, with a ſquadron of ſeven veſſels. The galleons coming in ſight, Stayner immediately ſet ſail to purſue them. The Spaniſh admiral ran his ſhip aſhore: his example was followed by two others: but the Engliſh took two ſhips valued at near two millions of pieces of eight: two other galleons were burned, and the marquis of Badajox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter, were deſtroyed in them. The marquis might have eſcaped; but ſeeing theſe unhappy women fall in a ſwoon, and periſh in the flames, he rather choſe to die with them, than drag out a life, embittered with the remembrance of that dreadful ſcene.

Soon after, Blake having heard that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter in the Canaries, he ſailed thither, and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, prepared to receive him. The bay was ſecured by a ſtrong caſtle, well provided with cannon, and by ſeven forts, united by a line of communication, manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, cauſed all his ſmaller veſſels to be moored cloſe to the ſhore, and poſted the larger galleons at anchor, with their broad ſides to the ſea. Blake, undaunted by this appearance, took advantage of the wind, which blew

blew full into the bay, and ſoon brought him among the thickeſt of his enemies. The Spaniards, after a reſiſtance of four hours, ſubmitted to the valour of the Engliſh, and abandoned their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſure. The Engliſh were ſtill in extreme danger, as they lay under the fire of the caſtle, and of all the forts, which muſt, in a little time, have torn his ſhips in pieces. But the wind ſuddenly changing, carried them out of the bay. The valiant Blake cloſed the ſcene of glory with this, the greateſt action of his life: he had long laboured under ſcorbutic and dropſical complaints, and haſted home, to die in his native country: but juſt as he came within ſight of land he expired, on the 20th of April 1657. Never was man ſo zealous for a party, ſo much reſpected and eſteemed, even by the oppoſite parties. He was an inflexible republican; and amidſt all the truſts and careſſes he received from Cromwell, appears not to have been ſincerely attached to him; but addreſſing the ſeamen, he ſaid, "It is ſtill our duty to fight for our "country, into what hands ſoever the govern-"ment may fall." Diſintereſted, generous, liberal, ambitious only of true glory, he was dreadful only to his avowed enemies, and formed one of the moſt perfect characters of that age. The parliament, on hearing the news of this laſt victory, ordered a thankſgiving, with the preſent of a diamond ring worth 500l. This he lived to receive. His funeral was performed

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ADMIRAL BLAKE.

performed with great magnificence, and his body interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel.

The great mind of Cromwell was intent on ſpreading the renown of the Engliſh nation; and while he ſtruck mankind with aſtoniſhment at his extraordinary fortune, he appeared to enoble, inſtead of debaſing, the people he had reduced to ſubjection. It was his boaſt, that he would render the name of an Engliſhman as much feared and revered, as was ever that of a Roman; and the Engliſh finding ſome reality in theſe pretenſions, were induced, by their national vanity, to bear his yoke with the greater patience.

The protector diſplayed, in his civil and domeſtic adminiſtration, as great a regard to juſtice and clemency, as his uſurped authority could poſſibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature, were filled with men of integrity: amidſt all the virulence of party-rage, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial; and to every man but himſelf, and to himſelf, except where neceſſity required the contrary, the law was his great rule of conduct and behaviour. Vane and Lilburne, whoſe credit with the republicans he dreaded, were, indeed, for ſome time, unjuſtly confined: Cony, who refuſed to pay illegal taxes, was forced, by menaces, to depart from his obſtinacy. The protector erected high courts of juſtice, to try thoſe who engaged in conſpiracies and inſurrections againſt his authority, and whom he could not with ſafety commit to the verdict of juries: but theſe irregularities were eſteem-

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ed the inevitable conſequences of his illegal authority.

The ſole baſis of the protector's power was laid in the army, and in managing it, conſiſted the chief part of his government. The ſoldiers were under an exact diſcipline, that not only accuſtomed them to obedience, but rendered them leſs diſagreeable and burthenſome to the people. He augmented their pay, and engaged their affections by his ability and ſucceſs in his enterprizes. But by the wild fanaticiſm which he had nouriſhed in the troops, he had ſeduced them into meaſures for which, had he openly propoſed them, they would have entertained the utmoſt averſion. This ſpirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made their caprice terrible, even to him by whom their movements were directed. Harriſon, though raiſed to the higheſt dignity, and entirely poſſeſſed of Cromwell's confidence, as ſoon as a ſingle perſon was eſtabliſhed, became his moſt inveterate enemy. Overton, Rich, Okey, officers of rank in the army, and zealous republicans, were actuated by the ſame principles, and Cromwell was obliged to deprive them of their commiſſions.

Effectually to curb the enthuſiaſtic and ſeditious ſpirit of the troops, the protector eſtabliſhed a kind of militia in the ſeveral counties. Companies of cavalry and infantry were enliſted under proper officers; regular pay was diſtributed among them; and, by that means, a reſource was provided, both againſt the mutiny,

tiny of the army, and the inſurrections of the royaliſts.

Cromwell being reſolved to maintain a national church, and yet determined neither to admit of epiſcopacy, nor, in other reſpects, to allow a perfect liberty of conſcience, eſtabliſhed a number of commiſſioners, termed triers, partly eccleſiaſtics, and partly laymen; ſome of whom were Independents, and others Preſbyterians. Theſe preſented to all livings; they examined and admitted ſuch perſons as received holy orders; and inſpected the lives, doctrine, and behaviour of the clergy: the chief object of ſcrutiny related to their converſion, and their advances in grace.

Cromwell, in converſing with the clergy, laid aſide the ſtate of protector, which, on other occaſions, he knew how to maintain; and told them, that nothing but neceſſity could ever have obliged him to inveſt himſelf with it. He talked to them on ſpiritual ſubjects, and prayed with them. The Independents, who chiefly boaſted his favour, were devoted to him; and the Preſbyterians, enjoying their ſhare of eſtabliſhments and tythes, were not averſe to his government, though he entertained a jealouſy of them. He granted an unbounded liberty of conſcience to all but Catholics and Prelatiſts; and by that means, attached the other ſects to his own perſon.

The zeal of the Engliſh in behalf of the Proteſtants abroad, was highly gratified by the protector's ſupporting their intereſt throughout Europe. Even ſo remote a power as the duke of Savoy, was obliged to comply with his me-

diation. That prince had begun a cruel perſecution of the Vaudois, who long before Luther's time, and perhaps from the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, had entertained opinions contrary to the church of Rome. Perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages and conditions, were treated with the moſt infernal cruelty. Cromwell, deeply affected with their calamities, ordered a collection to be made for them throughout England, which amounted to 38,097 l. 7s. 3d. to which he himſelf contributed 2000 l. out of his own pocket; and ſoon after procured them a toleration. France itſelf was obliged to tolerate the French Proteſtants, and when that court applied to England for a reciprocal toleration of the Catholic religion in England, the protector, who in every thing aſſumed the ſuperiority, would hearken to no ſuch propoſal.

Cromwell permitted the clergy of the church of England, a little more liberty than had formerly been allowed them by the republican parliament; but he bridled the royaliſts not only by the army, but by thoſe ſecret ſpies which he found means to introduce into all their counſels. He corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who was much truſted by chancellor Hyde, and all the royaliſts; and by his means, he was let into every deſign and conſpiracy of that party. Cromwell diſconcerted every project, by confining the perſons who were to be the actors in it; and as he afterwards reſtored them to liberty, this was ſuppoſed to proceed from a general jealouſy and ſuſpicion; and the ſecret ſource of his intelligence remained unſuſpected. He was chiefly afraid of being aſ-

ſaſſinated,

ſaſſinated. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had written a ſpirited diſcourſe, to ſhew the merit of killing him; and Cromwell was ſenſible, that the inflamed minds of the royal party was ſufficiently diſpoſed to put it in practice. He therefore openly declared, that aſſaſſinations were baſe and odious; that if the firſt attempt or provocation came from them, though he would not begin ſo ſhameful an expedient, he would retaliate to the uttermoſt: for he had inſtruments whom he could employ; and he would never deſiſt till he had extirminated the whole royal family. This menace contributed more to the ſecurity of his perſon, than all his guards.

The protector was principally ſolicitous to procure intelligence; and this article alone is ſaid to have coſt him 60,000 l. a year. Secretaries and clerks were corrupted; many of the poſt-maſters, both at home and abroad, were in his pay; and thoſe who were eſteemed the greateſt zealots in all parties, were often thoſe who conveyed private intelligence to him.

Cromwell, under the pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland with England in one commonwealth, reduced them to an entire ſubjection. The civil adminiſtration of Scotland was placed in a council, moſt of whom were Engliſh, and the lord Broghill preſident. Juſtice was adminiſtered by ſeven judges, four of whom were Engliſh. To curb the nobility, he aboliſhed vaſſalage, and a long line of forts and garriſons was maintained throughout the kingdom; while an army of 10,000 men kept

every thing in peace and obedience. He courted the Scotch Preſbyterian clergy, but permitted no church aſſemblies; and yet the Scots acknowledged, that they had never before, while they enjoyed their irregular factious liberty, attained ſuch happineſs as at this time.

Cromwell's adminiſtration of Ireland was much more ſevere. The government was at firſt entruſted to Fleetwood, a zealous republican; then to Henry Cromwell, the protector's ſecond ſon, a young man of a mild and amiable diſpoſition. Above five millions of acres, forfeited either by the Popiſh rebels, or by the king's adherents, were divided partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the parliament, and partly among the Engliſh ſoldiers, who had arrears due to them. An order was even iſſued to confine all the native Iriſh to the province of Connaught, where they would be ſhut up by mountains, lakes, and rivers: but this barbarous and abſurd policy, which muſt, in a great meaſure, have depopulated all the other provinces, was ſoon abandoned as impracticable.

Cromwell now began to flatter himſelf that the ſucceſs of his adminiſtration, both at home and abroad, would enable him to maintain ſuch repreſentatives of the nation as would be agreeable to his views: but not truſting entirely to the good will of the people, he uſed every art, which the new model of repreſentation allowed him to employ, in order to fill the houſe with his own creatures. Notwithſtanding all his precautions, he found that the majority were not

favourable

favourable to him. The houſe meeting on the ſeventeenth of September, 1656, he ſet guards at the door, who allowed none to enter, but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected above a hundred of thoſe who were obnoxious to the protector. Theſe proteſted againſt ſo egregious a violence, ſubverſive of all liberty; but all their applications for redreſs were rejected.

By means of this violence, the majority of the parliament were either the protector's friends, or reſolved, if poſſible, to adjuſt the government to their laws and liberties. They voted the renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family; and ſome time after, a motion was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for inveſting the protector with the dignity of king. This, at firſt, excited great diſorder, and divided the houſe into two parties. The chief oppoſition came from the protector's uſual adherents, the major-generals, and the officers who depended on them; and Lambert, who had expected to ſucceed him in the protectorate, with great warmth rouſed up all thoſe civil and religious jealouſies againſt kingly government, which Cromwell himſelf had ſo induſtriouſly propagated among the ſoldiers. On the other hand, the bill was ſupported by all who were more particularly devoted to the protector, in hopes of paying their court to him, and an inſtrument of government, entitled, The Humble Petition and Advice, was at length voted by a conſiderable majority; after which a committee was ap-

pointed to overcome the ſcruples which Cromwell pretended to have entertained againſt his accepting of ſo liberal an offer.

In this conference, the difficulty conſiſted leſs in perſuading Cromwell, than in bringing over the ſoldiers to the ſame way of thinking, and he wanted time to produce an alteration, not only in their opinions, but in thoſe of his neareſt friends. Even his own family were againſt it; Fleetwood and Deſborough, the firſt of whom had married his daughter, and the latter his ſiſter, endeavoured to awaken the uſurper's apprehenſions, by aſſuring him, that the offer of a crown was a trap laid for him, by the friends of Charles Stuart; which, if he accepted, he would infallibly draw ruin on himſelf and his friends; and threatened to throw up their commiſſions the inſtant he accept of it. Colonel Pride procured a petition againſt the office of king, ſigned by a majority of the officers in London and its neighbourhood; and a ſudden mutiny in the army was juſtly dreaded. This fixed Cromwell's wavering reſolution, and after having ſuffered much perplexity, he ſent a meſſage to the houſe, to meet him at Whitehall; and there refuſed to accept the title of king.

Cromwell, thus defeated in his deſigns, by the ſteady oppſition of the army, was glad to accept of the power they were willing to allow him, upon their own terms. His government was, hitherto, a manifeſt uſurpation; and it was thought proper to ſanctify it, by the ſeeming choice of the people and their repreſentatives.

tives. It was carried in the houſe, that they ſhould again preſent their humble petition and advice, with the alteration of the word king, into that of protector. Every article was accepted without heſitation; the ceremony to be uſed, inveſting him with ſupreme authority, was ſettled by parliament, and performed in Weſtminſter hall, in a more ſolemn and pompous manner, than his firſt inauguration.

By this inſtrument, his authority was, in ſome particulars, enlarged, and in others diminiſhed. He had a perpetual revenue of a million a year aſſigned him for the pay of the fleet and army, and 30,000 l. for the ſupport of civil government: he had the power of nominating his ſucceſſor, and had authority to form another houſe, who ſhould enjoy their ſeats during life, and exerciſe the ſame functions as the former houſe of peers. But he abandoned the power aſſumed in the intervals of the parliament, of framing laws with the conſent of his council; and agreed, that no member of either houſe ſhould be excluded, but by the conſent of that houſe of which he was a member.

The parliament having adjourned themſelves on the twenty-ſixth of June, 1657, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commiſſions, but allowed him a penſion of 2000 l a year; and, to the ſurprize of every body, he immediately loſt his authority in the army. Some other officers, whom Cromwell ſuſpected, were alſo diſplaced.

Richard, the protector's eldeſt ſon, was now brought

brought to court, and introduced into public buſineſs; and from henceforward was conſidered, by many, as heir to the protectorſhip. He was of a peaceful, inoffenſive, and unambitious diſpoſition. He had hitherto lived contentedly on a ſmall eſtate in the country, which his wife had brought him; and all his activity had been employed, in acts of beneficence. At the time of the king's trial, he is ſaid to have fallen on his knees to his father, and entreated him, by every tye of duty and humanity, to ſpare that prince's life. The protector had two daughters unmarried, one of whom he now gave in marriage to the grandſon and heir of his particular friend, the earl of Warwick, with whom he had, in every fortune, preſerved an uninterrupted intimacy. The other he married to the viſcount Fauconberg, whoſe family was formerly devoted to the royal party.

On the twentieth of January, 1658, the parliament again aſſembled, conſiſting, as in the times of monarchy, of two houſes. During the interval, Cromwell had ſent writs to form the houſe of peers, which was to be compoſed of five or ſix ancient peers, of ſeveral gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction, and of ſome officers, who had riſen from the meaneſt profeſſions. However, none of the ancient peers, though ſummoned, would condeſcend to accept of a ſeat with ſuch companions. At firſt the protector, endeavouring to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate, placed no guard at the door of either houſe; but he ſoon found, that by removing ſo many of his friends

and

and adherents into the upper houſe, he had loſt the majority among the national repreſentatives. The commons immediately aſſumed the power of re-admitting thoſe members who, the laſt year, had been excluded by the council. An inconteſtible majority now declaring againſt the protector, they refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of that other houſe he had juſt eſtabliſhed, and even queſtioned the validity of the humble petition and advice, as being voted by a parliament, deprived, by military violence, of a conſiderable number of its members. Hence the protector, dreading combinations between the parliament and the malecontents in the army, diſſolved the parliament on the fourth of February, with expreſſions of great anger and diſpleaſure.

Theſe diſtractions at home were not, however, able to take off Cromwell's attention to foreign affairs; and he proceeded in all his meaſures with the ſame vigour, as if ſecure of the duty and attachment of the three kingdoms. He was particularly deſirous of obtaining ſome conqueſt on the continent, and had ſent over into Flanders 6000 men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign Mardyke was taken; and early this campaign, ſiege was laid to Dunkirk. The Spaniſh army advancing to relieve it, the united armies of France and England marched out of their trenches; and on the twenty-ſixth of June 1658, fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated; and Dunkirk being, by agree-

ment,

ment, ſurrendered to the Engliſh, Cromwell committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of ability, who had married his niece, and was his ambaſſador at the court of France.

Cromwell, however, reaped little ſatisfaction from the ſucceſs of his arms abroad: the ſituation of his affairs at home, kept him in perpetual inquietude. His military enterprizes, and ſecret intelligence, had exhauſted his revenue, and involved him in a conſiderable debt. The royaliſts having concerted meaſures for a general inſurrection, Ormond came over in order to carry it into execution. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the Preſbyterians had ſecretly entered into the engagement; and even the army was infected with a general ſpirit of diſcontent. The conſpiracy of the royaliſts was diſappointed by Willis, who diſcovered the whole to the protector; upon which Ormond was obliged to fly, and thought himſelf happy in having eſcaped ſo vigilant an adminiſtration. Many of the conſpirators were thrown into priſon; and a high court of juſtice was erected for the trial of thoſe whoſe guilt was moſt apparent. Sir Henry Slingſby and Dr. Huet were condemned and beheaded; Aſhton, Storey, and Beſtley, were hanged in different ſtreets of the city; and Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, narrowly eſcaped, the numbers for his condemnation and acquittal being equal.

The republicans, though they regarded, with horror, the views and principles of the royaliſts,

aliſts, continually denounced vengeance on Cromwell; and entered into cabals to dethrone him. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him, and had often been prevented, by the moſt unaccountable accidents, from executing his bloody purpoſe: but though his deſign was diſcovered, the protector could never find the bottom of his enterprize, nor detect any of his accomplices; and notwithſtanding the clear and full proof of his guilt, the jury was, with difficulty, brought to condemn him. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead in his bed, from poiſon, which it is ſuppoſed he had voluntarily taken.

The protector might have better ſupported his fears and apprehenſions, had he enjoyed any domeſtic ſatisfaction: but Fleetwood, his ſon-in-law, offended at Cromwell's ambition, had eſtranged himſelf from him. Cromwell's eldeſt daughter, who was Fleetwood's wife, had adopted republican principles, and could not, with patience, behold power lodged in a ſingle perſon, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were as much prejudiced in favour of the royal cauſe. But above all, the ſickneſs of Mrs. Claypole, Cromwell's favourite daughter, a lady endowed with many virtues and amiable accompliſhments, depreſſed his mind. She had entertained a high regard for Dr. Huet, lately executed; and being refuſed his pardon, had tenderly urged her father to repent of the crimes into which he had been betrayed by his fatal ambition; and her death,

death, which followed ſoon after, gave a new edge to all her exhortations.

The protector now felt, that all his grandeur could not enſure him that tranquility which virtue and moderation can alone beſtow. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs; and ſeeing nothing around him but treacherous friends and enraged enemies, he found his power to depend on ſo delicate a poize of factions and intereſt, as the ſmalleſt event was able to deſtroy. Though he had, with ſuch ſignal intrepidity, braved death in the field, it was now his utmoſt care to avoid receiving it from the poniards of aſſaſſins: he never moved a ſtep without his guards: he wore armour under his clothes, and always carried a ſword and piſtol. He ſeldom ſlept above three nights together in the ſame chamber; and never let it be known before-hand, what chamber he intended to chuſe; nor entruſted himſelf in any which was not provided with back-doors, at which centinels were carefully placed. While in this ſituation of mind, he was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague; but in the intervals of the fits, he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever encreaſed, and he began to conſider the near approach of death. He then aſked Dr. Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall, or ſuffer a final reprobation. The miniſter anſwered, "Nothing "is more certain." "Then, ſaid Cromwell, "I am ſafe; for I am ſure that I once was in "a ſtate of grace." His chaplains, by their prayers

prayers and revelations, ſo buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of danger; and with confidence, ſaid to his phyſicians, "I tell you I ſhall not die of this diſ-"temper: I am well aſſured of my recovery. "It is promiſed by the Lord, ot only to my "ſupplications, but to thoſe of men who hold "a ſtricter commerce, and more intimate cor-"reſpondence with him. Ye may have ſkill "in your profeſſion, but nature can do more "than all the phyſicians in the world, and God "is far above nature."

In the mean time, all the ſymptoms began to wear a more fatal aſpect; and the phyſicians declared, that he could not ſurvive the next fit. The council being alarmed, ſent a deputation to know his will, with regard to his ſucceſſor. His ſenſes were gone, and he could not now expreſs his intentions. They aſked him, whether he did not intend that Richard, his eldeſt ſon, ſhould ſucceed him in the protectorſhip, and a ſimple affirmative was, or ſeemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the third of September 1658, he died, aged fifty-nine years and four months. His death was immediately followed by a violent tempeſt of thunder and lightning: both his partizans and his enemies weakly drew concluſions from this event, which they interpreted according to their different prejudices. His body was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey with more than regal magnificence.

By Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bouchier, he had two ſons and four daughters.

Richard, his ſucceſſor, married to the eldeſt daughter of Richard Major, Eſq; and Henry, who married a daughter of Sir Francis Ruſſel, of Chippenham, in Cambridgſhire. His daughters were Bridget, married to commiſſary-general Ireton, afterwards to lieutenant-general Fleetwood: Elizabeth, the wife of John Claypole, Eſq; Mary, married to lord viſcount Fauconberg; and Frances, wife to Mr. Rich, grand-ſon to the earl of Warwick, and afterwards to Sir John Ruſſel of Chippenham.

Cromwell's character has been differently repreſented by different perſons. Though his memory was celebrated by the fineſt pens of his age *. Cromwell was of a robuſt frame of body, and of a manly aſpect. He was born at Huntingdon, in the laſt year of the former century; though he himſelf, being the ſon of a ſecond brother, inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father, who died when he was young. He ſtudied for ſome time in one of the univerſities; but diſſipated part of his patrimony in gaming and drinking. Being ſuddenly ſeized with the ſpirit of reformation, he married; behaved with great gravity, reſtored whatever ſums he had won by gaming, and entered with zeal into the puritannical party. His mother lived till after he was protector, but could never be perſuaded, that either his

* The verſes of Mr. Waller, Dryden, and Sprat, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter, are well known. Tuckney, maſter of St. John's College, Dr. Witchcot, Horton, Minſhul, Seaman, and others, alſo wrote poems in his praiſe.

power

power or his perſon were in ſafety; and at every noiſe which ſhe heard, exclaimed, that her ſon was murdered. By her frugality and induſtry, ſhe had raiſed and educated a numerous family upon a ſmall fortune. She had even been obliged to ſet up a brewery at Huntingdon. Hence Cromwell has been often ſtigmatized with the name of the Brewer; and Ludlow, by way of inſult, takes notice of the great acceſſion he would receive to his royal revenues, upon his mother's death, who poſſeſſed a jointure of 60 l. a year, upon his eſtate.

Writers have deſcribed his abilities in the moſt extravagant terms. "What can be more "extraordinary, ſays Cowley, than that a per"ſon of private birth and education, no for"tune, no eminent qualities of body, nor "ſhining talents of mind, ſhould have the "courage to attempt, and the abilities to exe"cute, ſo great a deſign, as the ſubverting "one of the moſt ancient and beſt eſtabliſhed "monarchies in the world? That he ſhould "have the power and boldneſs to put his "prince and maſter to an open and infamous "death? Should baniſh that numerous and "ſtrongly allied family? Cover all theſe te"merities under a ſeeming obedience to a "parliament, in whoſe ſervice he pretended "to be retained? Trample too upon that par"liament in their turn, and ſcornfully expel "them as ſoon as they gave him ground of "diſſatisfaction? Overcome firſt all his ene"mies by arms, and afterwards all his friends "by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for

" a while, and command them victoriouſly at
" laſt? Be feared and courted by all foreign
" princes, and be adopted a brother to the
" gods of the earth? Call together parliaments
" with a word of his pen, and ſcatter them
" again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce
" to ſubjection a warlike and diſcontented na-
" tion, by means of a mutinous army? Com-
" mand a mutinous army by means of ſeditи-
" ous and factious officers? Be humbly and
" daily petitioned, that he would be pleaſed,
" at the rate of millions a year, to be hired
" as maſter of thoſe who had hired him before
" to be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and
" lives of three nations, as much at his diſpo-
" ſal, as was once the little inheritance of his
" father, and be as noble and liberal in the
" ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there is
" no end of enumerating every particular of
" his glory) with one word, bequeath all this
" power and ſplendor to his poſterity? Die
" poſſeſſed of peace at home and triumph a-
" broad? Be buried among kings, and with
" more than regal ſolemnity? And leave a
" name behind him not to be extinguiſhed
" but with the whole world; which, as it was
" too little for his praiſe, ſo might it have
" been for his conqueſts, if the ſhort line of
" his mortal life could have ſtretched out to the
" extent of his immortal deſigns?"

Hyperbolical as this character may appear, it is, in a great meaſure, founded in truth. It is alſo really amazing, that a man, raiſed from a very private ſtation, and filled with enthuſiaſm,

thuſiaſm, ſhould immediately, on being raiſed to the power of the greateſt monarch, behave with the dignity ſuitable to that power; and ſupport, with all ſtrangers, that high idea with which they had been impreſſed by his great exploits and prodigious fortune. Notwithſtanding the gravity of his manners, and his religious cant upon many occaſions, he could relax himſelf in trifling, jeſting, and making verſes among his ancient friends, without lowering himſelf in their eſteem. He would even ſometimes proceed to the moſt ruſtic buffoonery, and divert himſelf, by putting burning coals into the boots of the officers who attended him. At a meeting between the chiefs of the republican party, and the general officers, before the king's trial, in order to conſult on a free government, after debates on this moſt important ſubject, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwell, by way of frolic, threw a cuſhion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cuſhion to return the compliment, the general ran down ſtairs, and almoſt broke his bones in the hurry. Even when the high court of juſtice was ſigning the king's ſentence, Cromwell, before he ſubſcribed his name, ſmeared with ink the face of Martin, who ſat next him; and the pen being delivered to Martin, he paſſed the ſame frolic upon Cromwell. It is alſo ſaid, that he frequently invited his inferior officers to an entertainment; and when the meat was ſet upon the table, at a ſignal given the ſoldiers ruſhed in, and with much noiſe and confuſion, ran

away with all the diſhes, and diſappointed the gueſts.

Amidſt theſe ſportive frolics he took the opportunity of diving into the diſpoſitions and weakneſſes of men; and would ſometimes induce them by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the moſt ſecret receſſes of their hearts. However, great regularity of manners was always maintained in his court, and notwithſtanding his fondneſs for play in private, he took care to give no offence to the moſt rigid and devout. He upheld ſome ſtate, but with little expence, and without ſplendor. Every thing was managed with great œconomy, and yet he was generous to thoſe that ſerved him. He knew how to find out and engage in his intereſt, every man poſſeſſed of thoſe talents, which every particular employment demanded; and all his generals, admirals, judges, and ambaſſadors, were perſons who, in their ſeveral ſpheres, contributed to the honour of the nation, and his own ſecurity. Indeed he ſought every where for men of abilities in order properly to employ them. He favoured learning, and was munificent to ſuch as excelled in ſcience. Nor did he fail, in ſeveral reſpects, to conciliate the affections of his enemies to his perſon and government.

On the other hand, his edict againſt the epiſcopal clergy was very cruel, as it in a great meaſure deprived them of ſupport, and of their liberty of worſhipping God in the manner that appeared beſt to their own underſtandings. The cavaliers had hard meaſure from him, as

they

they were, almoſt without exception, rendered ſubject to heavy taxes and other inconveniences, upon account of the raſhneſs and imprudence of ſome of their party. He alſo, on ſome occaſions, made uſe of packed juries, and diſplaced judges for refuſing to follow his directions. He committed men illegally to priſon: he cauſed them to be tried before new created tribunals, and adjudged to death without the verdict of a jury: theſe, which were called high courts of juſtice, were the terror of the royaliſts, as their enemies were their judges. If to all theſe we add, the violation of the privileges of parliament, ſo much and ſo juſtly complained of by writers of different parties, we ſhall be able to form ſome tolerable judgment of his illegal and tyrannical actions. Theſe have been apologized for by his ſituation; had he accepted of the crown that was offered him, a milder adminiſtration would probably have taken place.

At the death of Cromwell, the royaliſts were not prepared to engage in any enterprize, in favour of Charles. The council therefore without oppoſition recognized the ſucceſſion of Richard, Cromwell's eldeſt ſon. Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, undertook for the obedience of that kingdom: Monk proclaimed the new protector in Scotland, and both the army and the fleet acknowledged his title. Upwards of ninety addreſſes from the counties and moſt conſiderable corporations, congratulated Richard on his acceſſion, in terms of dutiful allegiance;

and the foreign miniſters were forward in paying him the uſual compliments. Thus Richard, a young man of no experience, accuſtomed to a retired life in the country; unacquainted with the officers of the army, and recommended by no military exploits, was tempted to accept of ſo rich an inheritance, though his want of ambition would never have tempted him to contend for it.

It was now found neceſſary to call a parliament, in order to furniſh ſupplies, both for fulfilling the engagements into which the late protector had entered with foreign princes, particularly Sweden, and for the ordinary adminiſtration of the government. To obtain a greater influence in elections, the ancient right was reſtored to all the ſmall boroughs, and the counties allowed no more than their accuſtomed members. The other houſe conſiſted only of the ſame perſons appointed by Oliver.

The parliament met on the 7th of January 1659; and all the commons ſigned an engagement without heſitation, not to alter the preſent government. They then proceeded to examine the Humble Petition and Advice, which, after great oppoſition, was at laſt confirmed; as was alſo the authority of the other houſe. But theſe proceedings occaſioned violent debates, that alarmed the partizans of the young protector.

Greater dangers were, however, apprehended from another quarter. The moſt conſiderable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, the protector's brother-in-law, thought this a favourable opportunity for reſtoring the republic,

Fleetwood

Fleetwood was a zealous republican; and it was eaſy for thoſe who had obtained his confidence, to inſtil into his mind, diſguſts againſt the dignity of a protector. The whole republican party in the army, which was ſtill conſiderable, united themſelves to that general, while the officers of the ſame party, whom Oliver had diſcarded, began to appear, and to recover that authority, which had been only for a time ſuſpended. Even Deſborough, the protector's uncle, added his authority to that party: beſides, Lambert being now rouzed from his retreat, joined his influence. All the diſcontented officers eſtabliſhed their meetings at Wallingford houſe, which belonged to Fleetwood, and were thence denominated the cabal of Wallingford houſe.

Richard was prevailed on to give an unguarded conſent for calling a general council of officers, to make him propoſals for the good of the army. But no ſooner were they aſſembled than they voted a remonſtrance, in which they lamented that the good old cauſe was entirely neglected; and propoſed as a remedy, that the whole military power ſhould be entruſted to a perſon, in whom they could all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, alſo expreſſed the ſame reſolution of adhering to the good old cauſe. The protector poſſeſſed none of thoſe qualities proper to gain an enthuſiaſtic army; for he did not lay the ſame ſtreſs on an outward appearance of religion as his father had done. Thus murmurs being thrown out againſt his having promoted ſome

ſome royaliſts; he anſwered, "Would you have "me prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick "Ingoldſby, who can neither pray nor preach, "yet I will truſt him before you all." This imprudence gave great offence. He was beſides, of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition; and ſome of his party having the cruelty to offer to put an end to the intrigues carried on againſt him, by the death of Lambert, he declared, that he would not purchaſe power or dominion by ſuch ſanguinary meaſures.

The parliament being alarmed at the military cabals, voted that there ſhould be no meeting or general council of officers, without the protector's conſent, or by his orders. This brought affairs to an immediate criſis. The officers haſted to Richard, and inſiſted on the diſſolution of the parliament; and by their importunity, prevailed on him to comply. The parliament was accordingly diſſolved, and the protector was, by every one, conſidered as effectually dethroned. Petitions from all parts now flowed in for the re-eſtabliſhment of the long parliament, which had continued ſitting till the twentieth of April 1653, and the army invited them to return to their truſt. They met on the ſeventh of May 1659, when the painted chamber, and the lobby were lined with the principal officers of the army, who, as the members paſſed through, with their ſpeaker at their head, teſtified their reſolution to live and die with the parliament.

That

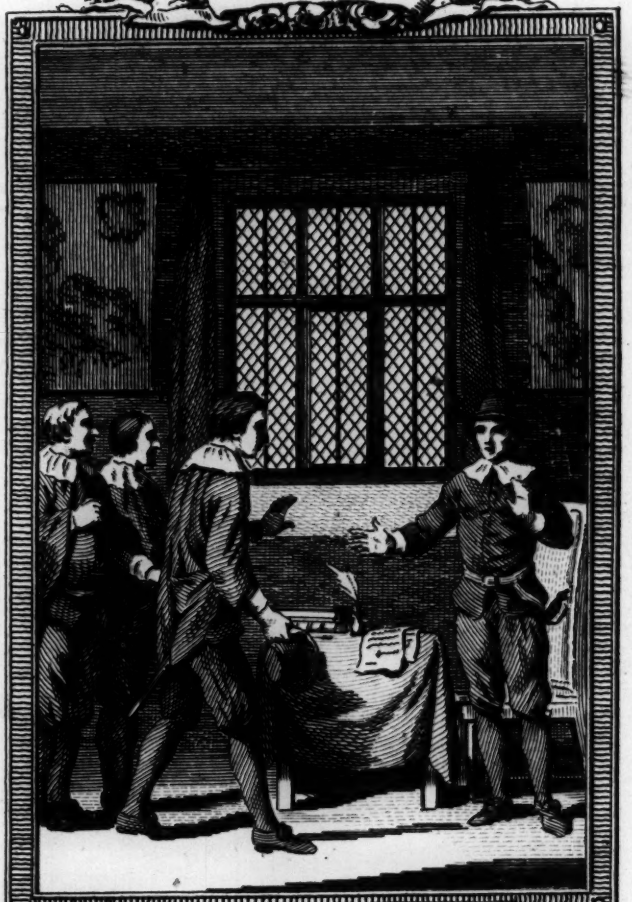
That aſſembly ſent a deputation to Richard, to deſire him to remove from Whitehall, and to give ſome teſtimony of his ſubmiſſion to the preſent government. The parliaments meſſengers found him in as peaceable a diſpoſition as could be deſired: for, undazzled with the luſtre of his high ſtation, he told them, that he loved and valued the peace of the commonwealth much above his private concerns; that through the goodneſs of God, he could freely acquieſce in the change of the government, and, with other men, expect protection from it: that he himſelf ſhould behave with all peaceableneſs, and to the utmoſt of his power, engage all in whom he had influence, to do the ſame. For this inſtance of greatneſs of mind, which ſhewed him ſuperior to the world and all its vanities; which ſhewed that he loved his country more than himſelf, and that he would not ſhed the blood of his countrymen in ſupport of his perſonal ſplendor:—for this he has been termed a pitiful fellow, and a paltroon; and treated with the utmoſt contempt, even by the royaliſts themſelves.

The parliament, on their ſending to Richard for a teſtimony of his acquieſcence, directed him to give in a ſtate of his circumſtances; on which, he gave them a paper, containing his ſubmiſſion, to which was annexed a ſchedule, by which it appeared, that when the fortunes of his brother Henry, his ſiſter Frances, and other annuities were paid, he ſhould have only 1300l. a year remaining; and the burthen of a debt of above 30,000l. The parliament, on the

the examination of this ſchedule, and his ſubmiſſion, declared that they accepted in good part what was expreſſed in the paper; and in teſtimony of their approbation, would take upon themſelves his juſt debts, not exceeding the ſums contained in the ſchedule, and reſolved that 2000l. ſhould be advanced for Richard's preſent occaſions. The parliament afterwards appointed a committee, to conſider what was fit to be done, for Richard's comfortable and honourable ſubſiſtence. But both the ſettlement of this ſubſiſtence and the payment of his debts, were prevented by the confuſions which followed.

The parliament reſolving that Ireland ſhould from thenceforth be managed by commiſſioners, ſent orders to Henry Cromwell to come over, and give an account of the ſtate of that country. Henry at firſt heſitated whether he ſhould obey theſe commands; he being adviſed by ſome of his friends of the royal party, to proclaim Charles Stuart, king, in the city of Dublin. But wiſely ſounding the inclinations of the army, and finding the majority inclined to ſubmit to the parliament, he quietly reſigned his command, came over to England, and, by permiſſion of the government, retired into the country.

Thus the family of the Cromwell's fell from an enormous height of power, without injury to themſelves or their country. Richard continued to poſſeſs a moderate eſtate, burthened with a large debt. After the reſtoration, tho' he remained unmoleſted, he thought proper to travel



Richard Cromwell renouncing the Protectorship.

travel for ſome years. On his return to England, he indulged his beloved retirement, and his tranquil and quiet life, was extended to an extreme old age, for he did not die till the latter end of queen Anne's reign. His ſocial virtues, more valuable than the moſt ſhining abilities, were attended with peace and contentment; a recompence more precious than that of noiſy fame and ſplendid pageantry.

Though the preſent aſſembly, which conſiſted of little more than ſeventy members, declared, that they would ſit no longer than till the ſeventh of May 1660, the cavaliers and preſbyterians demanded a free and full parliament; and to enforce this demand roſe in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townſhend, a member of the preſent parliament, undertook to ſeize Lynn in Norfolk: general Maſſey, Glouceſter; Lord Newport, Shrewſbury; Arundel, Pollard, Granville and Trelawney, Plymouth and Exeter; Sir George Booth, Cheſter; and Sir William Middleton, who was near fourſcore years of age, was to riſe in North Wales. Charles Stuart was at Calais, to take advantage of the occaſion; and his brother James at Boulogne, from whence he was to bring a party of French to favour the inſurrection: but before the day appointed for riſing, moſt of the conſpirators were ſeized, by order of the government, and thrown into priſon.

The parliament had procured intelligence of the particulars of this dangerous combination from Thurloe, ſecretary to the two Cromwell's;

who, to render himſelf uſeful to the reigning powers, had continued his correſpondence with Sir Richard Willis, a man who was highly truſted by the king's party, and had been the chief inſtrument in defeating the former ſchemes of the royaliſts. But as it had been pre-concerted by the conſpirators, that no ſeizure of individuals ſhould prevent thoſe who were at liberty from entering into action, the lord Cholmondeley, Sir George Booth, the lord Kilmurry and his brother, Mr. Brook, a member of parliament, colonel Ireland and others, appeared in arms on Routon-heath, at the head of 3000 men. After publiſhing a manifeſto, declaring, that the reaſon of their riſing was to obtain a free parliament, and to contend with the faction at Weſtminſter, they, by the aſſiſtance of the earl of Derby, the lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee and colonel Morgan, took poſſeſſion of Cheſter; and being joined by Sir William Middleton, with ſome troops from North Wales, obtained the poſſeſſion of Warrington in Lancaſhire.

On the firſt intelligence of this inſurrection, the council of ſtate ordered fourteen regiments to be raiſed, each conſiſting of a thouſand men; and ordered Lambert to march againſt the enemy with three regiments of horſe and three of foot: theſe were joined in their march by a conſiderable body of the militia; and that general taking the enemy by ſurprize, ſuddenly attacked and routed the whole party.

The ruin of the parliament was haſtened by this ſucceſs. Lambert, in whoſe boſom the luſt

luſt of empire raged with as much violence as it had ever done in the mind of Cromwell, was no leſs dangerous to them than thoſe they had conquered. He employed 1000 l. which the parliament ſent him to buy a jewel, in liberalities to his officers; and engaged them to draw up a petition, that Fleetwood ſhould be made commander in chief, he himſelf major-general, Deſborough lieutenant-general of the horſe, and Monk major-general of the foot; and that no officer ſhould be diſmiſſed from his command, but by a court-martial. Intelligence of this proceeding being brought to the parliament, they immediately caſhiered Lambert, Deſborough, Kelſey, and Cobbet. Fleetwood's commiſſion was vacated, and the command of the army was veſted in ſeven perſons, of whom that general was one. The parliament alſo voted, that they would have no more general officers; and declared it high treaſon to levy any money without the conſent of parliament.

Theſe votes were, however, feeble weapons, when oppoſed to the ſwords of the army. Lambert having marched to London, forced the guard, which the council of ſtate had appointed, to ſecure the avenues leading to the houſe; blocked up the paſſages with horſe and foot; and when the ſpeaker came in his coach, ordered the horſes to be turned, and civilly conducted him home; and the other members were intercepted in the ſame manner.

The officers of the army were now again inveſted with the ſupreme authority; and on the

twenty-ſixth of October, choſe a committee of twenty-three perſons, ſeven of whom were officers, for the adminiſtration of public affairs, and for preparing a form for the future government on the foundations of a free ſtate.

While England continued in this diſtracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were haſting towards a concluſion of their differences. The parliament, inſtead of following the politics of Cromwell, in lending aſſiſtance to the conquering Swede, embraced the maxims of the Dutch, and reſolved, in conjunction with them, to produce an accommodation between the northern crowns. Algernon Sidney, the celebrated republican, was ſent ambaſſador and ſailed to the Baltick, with a ſquadron commanded by Montague. Sidney found the king of Sweden employed in the ſiege of Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, and was highly pleaſed that, like a Roman, he could check the progreſs of royal victories, and diſplay in ſo ſignal a manner, the ſuperiority of freedom over tyranny. And with the higheſt indignation did the ambitious prince find himſelf obliged to ſubmit to the imperious mediation of two commonwealths. "It is cruel," ſaid he, "that laws ſhould be preſcribed me by par-"ricides and pedlars." But as his whole army was incloſed in a ſmall iſland, and might be ſtarved by the united ſquadrons of England and Holland, he was obliged to quit his prey, when he had ſo nearly got it in his poſſeſſion: having therefore agreed to a pacification with Den-

mark,

mark, he returned to Sweden, where he ſoon after died.

The wars likewiſe between France and Spain, were concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. Mazarine, and Don Lewis de Haro, the miniſters of the two crowns, met in the iſle of Pheaſants, at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains; and the negociation being brought to an iſſue by the frequent conferences of the miniſters, the monarchs themſelves agreed to a congreſs, and theſe two ſplendid courts, appeared in their full luſtre amidſt theſe ſavage mountains. Philip brought with him his daughter Mary Thereſa; and giving her in marriage to Lewis, his nephew, endeavoured by this new tye to cement their intereſts. Charles reduced to deſpair by the failure of all his enterprizes, was reſolved to try the feeble reſource of foreign ſuccours, and went to the Pyrenees, when the two miniſters were in the midſt of their negociations. He was received with great civility by Don Lewis, who expreſſed a great inclination to ſerve him, if the low condition of Spain would have allowed him to do it. But Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the Engliſh commonwealth, even refuſed to ſee him; and though Charles offered to marry his niece, he could only obtain empty profeſſions of reſpect. The condition of Charles appeared to be entirely deſperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt to ſerve him, and none in England durſt openly acknowledge himſelf of that party. But amidſt theſe gloomy proſpects, providence was paving the way for his

aſcending the throne, and it was by the contrivance of general Monk, that this was at laſt accompliſhed.

George Monk, who performed ſo diſtinguiſhed a part as the reſtoration of monarchy, was the ſecond ſon of an ancient but decayed family in Devonſhire. He betook himſelf early to arms, and ſought military experience in the Netherlands, where he roſe to the command of a company under Lord Goring. When the war broke out in this iſland, he returned to England in ſearch of promotion, and was employed by the earl of Leiceſter againſt the Iriſh rebels. Having obtained a regiment, he was ſoon taken notice of, for his military ſkill, and for his calm and deliberate valour. When the Iriſh army was called over into England, being ſuſpected, the king ſuſpended him from his command, and ordered him to appear at Oxford, to anſwer to a charge laid againſt him; but he was ſoon reſtored to his regiment, which he joined at the ſiege of Nantwich. The day after his arrival, Fairfax having attacked and defeated the royaliſts, colonel Monk was taken priſoner and ſent to the Tower, where he was confined above two years, and while there, received a preſent from the king of a hundred guineas. Cromwell, ſenſible of his merit, ſolicited him to engage in the wars againſt the Iriſh, and he accepted a command. He afterwards engaged on the ſide of the parliament; and upon the reduction of Scotland, was left there with the ſupreme command of the forces. The connections he had formed with Cromwell, his

his benefactor, preſerved him faithful to Richard. When the long parliament was reſtored, Monk acknowledged their authority, and was continued in his command: but after the army had expelled the parliament, he proteſted againſt that act of violence, and reſolved, as he pretended, to vindicate the invaded privileges of that aſſembly.

For a long time a rivalſhip had ſubſiſted between him and Lambert, by whoſe ſucceſs he knew that his own authority would ſoon be ſubverted. But how early he entertained deſigns for the king's reſtoration, is not certainly known. It is probable, that as ſoon as Richard was depoſed, he began to entertain thoughts of forming a revolution. Monk's elder brothers were entirely devoted to the royal cauſe; and the Granville's, his near relations, with all the reſt of his kindred, were in the ſame intereſt; but he took no notice to Charles of his having any ſuch deſign.

Sir George Granville, in order to engage the general to enter into the king's ſervice, ſent Dr. Monk, who was a clergyman, and the general's younger brother, into Scotland, with a letter from Charles. The Doctor, on his arrival, found his brother holding a council of officers, and being not to be ſeen, the doctor informed his chaplain of the ſubject of his journey, and engaged him to ſecond his applications. On the general's arrival, the doctor, after embracing his brother, opened his buſineſs. Monk interrupted him, to know whether he had mentioned the ſubject to any one elſe.

He replied, to nobody but his chaplain, whom he knew to be entirely in his confidence. The general, upon this, turned the diſcourſe, and, without ſuffering the doctor to reſume the ſubject, ſent him away with the firſt opportunity; for he would not truſt his own brother the moment he knew that he had diſcloſed the ſecret.

In all other particulars, he behaved with the ſame reſerve; but immediately caſhiered all the officers of the army, of whom he had entertained any ſuſpicion. Cobbet had been ſent by the committee of ſafety, under the pretence of communicating their reſolutions to Monk, but in reality to form a party againſt him, and put him under an arreſt. Monk committed him to cuſtody: he aſſembled the ſcattered regiments; ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates; and having informed them of his reſolution to march into England, to defend the privileges of the parliament againſt the uſurpations of the army, received a ſmall, but ſeaſonable ſupply.

Monk hearing that Lambert was advancing towards him with an army, ſent commiſſioners to London, with profeſſions of his inclinations to peace, and offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and induce his enemies to relax their preparations; his commiſſioners therefore, having ſigned the treaty, he refuſed to ratify it; and deſired to enter into a new negociation at Newcaſtle. This fallacious offer the committee of ſafety alſo willingly accepted.

Mean while the nation fell into a total anarchy, and, by refuſing the payment of all taxes,

taxes, reduced the army to the greateſt neceſſities. While Lambert was aſſembling his forces at Newcaſtle, Haſlerig and Morley took poſſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party ſent to ſuppreſs them was perſuaded, by their commander, to join them. The city apprentices roſe in a tumult, demanding a free parliament; and though they were ſuppreſſed by colonel Hewſon, who was originally a cobler, the city ſtill diſcovered ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous diſcontent; and even eſtabliſhed a kind of ſeparate government within itſelf. Admiral Lawſon now ſailed up the river with a ſquadron of ſhips, and declared for the parliament; Haſlerig and Morley leaving Portſmouth, advanced towards London. In this critical juncture, thoſe regiments which were left to guard the city, and which had been reduced to great difficulties for want of pay, returned to their allegiance to the parliament, whoſe authority was likewiſe acknowledged by Deſborough's regiment, which had been ſent back by Lambert, to ſupport his friends in the capital.

It was in vain to contend againſt this general deſertion; the military leaders, no longer able to ſupport their uſurpation, ſubmitted to the preſent neceſſity; and the members of parliament, in the midſt of loud acclamations of applauſe, were re-conducted to their houſe by the ſame officers, and the ſame men who, a few months before, had prevented their ſitting. Lenthal, the ſpeaker, acting as commander in chief of the army, turned out of the Tower

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the lieutenant, who had been placed there by Fleetwood, put Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper in his room, and ordered a general rendezvous of the army; who laying aſide their former perverſeneſs, with great alacrity, paid him all the military honours due to the office he had aſſumed.

Lambert was now in a diſconſolate condition. Monk had paſſed the Tweed, and was advancing upon him: his own ſoldiers deſerting him in great numbers, joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax had raiſed forces behind him, and taken poſſeſſion of York; and the orders ſent by the parliament ſo entirely ſtripped him of his army, that he had not above a hundred horſe left; and he himſelf was ſoon after arreſted and committed to the Tower. Sir Henry Vane, and ſome members who had concurred with the committee of ſafety, were alſo confined; and the parliament ſeemed to be again poſſeſſed of more abſolute authority than ever.

During theſe tranſactions, Monk, without any previous leave or invitation, advanced forward at the head of 6000 men, on the pretence of defending the parliament againſt the refractory ſpirit which might yet exiſt among the ſoldiers. At York he had a conference with lord Fairfax, who having married his daughter to the duke of Buckingham, maintained a correſpondence with Charles Stuart. But Monk declared ſo ſtrongly his reſolution of acting in defence of the preſent authority, that Fairfax was afraid of declaring his intentions. As the parliament had entertained a ſtrong ſuſ-

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picion of Fairfax's conduct, they wrote a preſſing letter to Monk to repair to London; and ſent Scot and Robinſon on the pretence of complimenting him on the road, but with a view to keep him ſteady to their intereſt, and to diſcover his ſecret intentions. The taciturnity of Monk's diſpoſition, however, guarded him from the keeneſt obſerver; for a deſire of talking, never tempted him to betray what he wiſhed to conceal; and when he did open himſelf, it was to expreſs his implicit obedience to the parliament, and his zeal for the eſtabliſhment of a free commonwealth.

Monk, on his reaching St. Albans, ſent a meſſage to the parliament, deſiring them to remove from London thoſe regiments, who, tho' they now profeſſed to return to their duty, had ſo lately offered violence to that aſſembly; leſt his army ſhould be infected by their mutinous ſpirit. The houſe was much perplexed by this unexpected meſſage, but found it neceſſary to comply. The ſoldiers, however, made more difficulty: a mutiny aroſe among them; and a regiment, quartered in Somerſet-houſe, expreſsly refuſed to yield their place to the northern army: but their officers, who would gladly have enflamed the quarrel, were abſent, or in confinement; and the ſoldiers, for want of leaders, were, at laſt, obliged to ſubmit.

Monk entered the capital in a kind of triumph, at the head of his army, on the fourth of February 1660; and two days after was introduced to the houſe; where Lenthal returned him thanks, in the name of the commons, for the

the eminent ſervices he had done his country. Monk, in return, told the houſe, that he had done no more than his duty; and aſſured the parliament of an implicit obedience to their commands: that, while on his march, he had obſerved all ranks of men to be in earneſt expectation of a ſettlement, and to have no proſpect of that bleſſing, but from the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and from the ſummoning of a new one, free and full; who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally ſatisfy the deſires of the nation.

This ſpeech kept every one in ſuſpence, and upheld that uncertainty, in which it ſeemed the general's intereſt to retain the public. At this time the common-council of London had taken upon them to receive petitions, relating to the payment of taxes and other public affairs; had thanked the petitioners for their good affections, and paſſed a vote, that they would pay no taxes, but ſuch as ſhould be impoſed by a free parliament. A reſolution of this nature was ſtriking at the very exiſtence of the preſent government: it was therefore reſolved, by the council of ſtate, to make a full experiment both of their own power, and the general's obedience, by immediately chaſtiſing them.

The council of ſtate aſſembled, and Monk was admitted to the conſultation. On its being moved, that the common-council ſhould be forbidden to ſit; that a few of the moſt active ſhould be ſeized; the portculliſſes wedged, and the poſts, with their chains, pulled up; Monk not only chearfully undertook to perform the

the ſervice, but added, that if more was not done, ſuch puniſhment would ſerve for nothing, becauſe the damage might be ſoon repaired; that the diſaffection of the city was ſo great, that they would never be quiet till ſome of the citizens were hanged; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to break in pieces the gates and portcullices, to burn the poſts, and carry the chains to the Tower: the council of ſtate, pleaſed with the zeal expreſſed by Monk, gave him orders to march with his forces into the city, early the next morning. This Monk performed, to the great terror and aſtoniſhment of the citizens, whom he and his friends had ſecretly encouraged in their ſedition; and the parliament, being informed of the rigour with which he executed the injunctions of the council, ordered, that, on account of his having refuſed to eat at the expence of the city, he ſhould have fifty pounds for his dinner, and ten pounds a day, to commence from his coming into England.

Monk's diſſimulation was now carried far enough; and he reſolved to regain the confidence of the malecontents, who were enraged at his ſuppoſed treachery. He therefore wrote a letter to the parliament, ſubſcribed by himſelf and the chief officers of the army; in which, after complaining of the unpopular ſervice in which they had employed him; after taxing the houſe with favouring the fanatic party, he reproached them with giving encouragement to a fanatical petition, and with the new cabal they had formed with Vane and Lam-

bert; then concluded with requiring them, in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and whole commonwealth, to iſſue writs, within a week, for filling their houſe, and aſſembling a new parliament. Monk having diſpatched this letter, marched with his army into the city, and deſired Allen, the lord mayor, to ſummon a common-council, to whom he made many apologies for the indignity which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; declared himſelf of their opinion, though he was obliged to conceal it; and deſired, that they might mutually plight their faith for a ſtrict union between the city and army, in every enterprize for promoting the happineſs and ſettlement of the commonwealth.

No ſooner was Monk's conduct and reſolution publicly known, than a ſcene of joy and exultation diſplayed itſelf through the city. The view of paſt calamities no longer preſented diſmal prognoſtics of futurity; and only tended to enhance the general exultation for the happineſs and tranquility with which people flattered themſelves. The royaliſts and the Preſbyterians, forgetting their former animoſities, united in the common joy. The populace, outrageous in their feſtivity, made the air reſound with acclamations; the houſes of the city were illuminated, and the moſt ridiculous inventions adopted, in order to expreſs their averſion to the laſt parliament. At every bonefire rumps were roaſted; and where theſe could not be had, pieces of fleſh were cut into that ſhape.

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Upon the twenty-firſt of February, the ſecluded members went to the houſe; and immediately appeared to be the majority, upon which moſt of the Independents left the place. The reſtored members, after repealing all the ordinances by which they had been excluded, made Monk captain-general, and commander in chief of all the land forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and with Montague and Lawſon, joint admiral of the ſeas; and fixed an aſſeſſment for the ſupport of the fleet and army.

Monk, not thinking it yet ſafe to throw off the maſk of diſſimulation, ſent a declaration to the houſe, in which he called God to witneſs, that his only intentions were the glory of God, and the ſettlement of the empire upon commonwealth foundations; and that, in this purſuit, he ſhould think nothing too dear to hazard. He exclaimed againſt the introduction of monarchy, as deſtructive of liberty. For the government of the church, he recommended moderate Preſbytery, with a liberty for tender conſciences; and added, that if the ſtate was monarchical, prelacy would be brought in, which the nations could not bear. In the winding up of his declaration, he recommended ſettling the conduct of the army; providing a ſufficient maintenance for the forces, and other contingencies of government; appointing a council of ſtate, with authority to ſettle the civil government, and to ſummon a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter on the twentieth of April. Monk incloſed this declara-

tion in a letter, which, in his character of captain-general of the forces, he wrote to the ſeveral regiments, quartered in England, Scotland, and Ireland; wherein he apologized for the re-admiſſion of the ſecluded members; and again called God to witneſs, that he had no intention to return to the old bondage; nor, as the providence of the Almighty had made the nations free, at the expence of ſo much blood, to be found ſo unfaithful, as to loſe that glorious cauſe; but reſolved, with the aſſiſtance of God, to adhere to them, in continuing their dear purchaſed liberties, both civil and ſpiritual.

While Monk was endeavouring, by theſe ſolemn proteſtations, to compoſe the jealouſy of the army, he was every day turning out the old officers, and filling their places with men of oppoſite characters. The parliament, in ſettling the militia, followed Monk's plan; repealed the oath for the abjuration of the family of the Stuarts; and abrogated the engagement to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, without a ſingle perſon or houſe of peers.

While Charles was beginning to entertain hopes of his reſtoration, he received a meſſage from Monk, who diſpatched Sir John Greville to Bruſſels, where, at this time, the family of Stuart reſided, with excuſes for his paſt conduct, and aſſurances of his being entirely devoted to his ſervice; entreating him inſtantly to leave the Spaniſh territories. Upon this Charles removed to Breda, where, while

while he was enjoying the proſpect of this unexpected fortune, the affairs in England were preparing for his reſtoration. The army was new modelled; and the council of ſtate being compoſed of Preſbyterians, who had already made their peace with Charles, were inveſted by the parliament, before their diſſolution, with full powers to provide for the public ſafety, on all emergencies. The Preſbyterians, thinking the day their own, were amuſing themſelves with the limitations on which they intended to admit Charles to the government; and the generality of that body, were for binding him in ſuch ſtrict conditions, as ſhould not only ſecure thoſe who had borne arms againſt his family, but ſuch as had purchaſed the lands of the crown of biſhops, and of delinquents in general. The confirming what was offered by his father at the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, was the moſt favourable ſenſe of the party; but the Preſbyterian nobility and leading commoners, who expected rewards for the ſervices they rendered him, were for reſtoring him on almoſt any terms: but Monk affecting an unconquerable averſion to monarchy, prevented their coming to any determination; by which means he artfully cauſed the debates to be broke off, and that important affair left undetermined till the meeting of parliament.

In the mean time the republican party, and particularly the late king's judges, were ſeized with the moſt juſt apprehenſions; and endeavoured to infuſe the ſame ſentiments into the

ſoldiers, to whom they repreſented, that all the brave actions which had been performed during the war, and which were ſo meritorious in the eyes of the parliament, would doubtleſs be conſidered by the royaliſts as the blackeſt crimes, and would expoſe the army to the ſevereſt vengeance: that in vain did they profeſs lenity and moderation; the death of the king, the execution of ſo many of the nobility and gentry, and the ſequeſtration and impriſonment of the reſt, were conſidered by them as crimes ſo deep, and offences ſo perſonal, as called for the moſt implacable revenge: that the lighteſt puniſhment they could expect, was the loſs of all arrears, and the caſhiering of every officer and ſoldier: that after the army was diſperſed, their life or property would have no other protection, but the clemency of enraged victors; and that even ſuppoſing, that the moſt perfect ſecurity could be obtained, it was inglorious to be reduced by deceit and treachery, to become ſubject to a foe, who had ſo often yielded, in the open field, to their ſuperior valour. Theſe repreſentations, with the ſevere invectives every day publiſhed by the cavaliers againſt all who had acted in oppoſition to the principles of monarchy, rendered it difficult to keep the ſoldiers within bounds till the reſtoration could be effected.

While the army was in this temper, Lambert, who had been impriſoned in the Tower for not giving 20,000 l. ſecurity for his good behaviour, ſuddenly made his eſcape, and threw Monk and the council of ſtate into great conſter-

conſternation; who conſidered it as very dangerous to aſſemble any conſiderable body of the army to oppoſe them. From this conſternation the government was relieved, by the activity of colonel Ingoldſby, who had a perſonal hatred to Lambert, and an eager deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the ſervice of Charles; with whom, notwithſtanding his having been one of his father's judges, he had already made his peace. He overtook Lambert at Daventry, where he had aſſembled only four troops of horſe: one of them deſerted him; another quickly followed the example; and he himſelf endeavouring to make his eſcape, was ſeized by Ingoldſby, to whom he made ſubmiſſions unſuitable to his former character of ſpirit and bravery. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Creed, and other republican officers, were taken at the ſame time. This early ſuppreſſion of the republicans was the more ſeaſonable, as the roads were full of ſoldiers, haſtening to join them, ſo that in a few days they would have been very formidable.

On the meeting of the parliament, by the ſpecial invitation of Monk, thoſe lords who had ſat till the year of the king's death, reſumed their ſeats. The houſe of lords choſe the earl of Mancheſter for their ſpeaker; and the commons Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, one of the leaders of the Preſbyterian party, who, from a warm oppoſer of the late king, was become as warm a partizan of his ſon. The great dangers incurred during the preceding confuſions, added to the extreme caution of the general,

general, kept every one in awe; and, for ſome days, none dared to make any mention of a king. The great buſineſs of the ſettlement of the nation, was to be debated on the firſt of May, to which day the commons adjourned. Sir John Granville had been ſome days in London, with a commiſſion from Charles, appointing Monk captain-general of all the forces in the three kingdoms; and with letters to the two houſes, to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, and to general Monk, to be communicated to the preſident and council of ſtate, and the officers under his command. Charles alſo ſent a general declaration, in which he offered a free pardon to all his ſubjects, who ſhould return to their allegiance; except thoſe who ſhould be hereafter proſcribed by parliament; declared liberty of conſcience to all who did not diſturb the public peace; left the ſettlement of property to parliament; and promiſed the army all their arrears, and to continue them the ſame pay and condition they at preſent enjoyed.

This declaration, and theſe letters, were drawn up according to general inſtructions, which had been given by Monk, who now regarding matters to be ripe for the full completion of his ſcheme, directed Anneſley, preſident of the council of ſtate, to inform the commons, that Sir John Granville was at the door, with a letter from Charles Stuart. The houſe ordered him to be admitted; and the letters and declaration were read. Loud acclamations followed the peruſal of theſe papers; and

and immediately a committee was appointed to prepare an anſwer, expreſſing the joyful ſenſe of the houſe for his majeſty's gracious offers; and that the ſum of 50,000 l. ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, 10,000 l. to the duke of York, and 5000 l. to the duke of Glouceſter. The houſe of lords were as forward as the commons, in their high expreſſions of gratitude; and having alſo appointed a committee to conſider of a letter of thanks, paſſed a vote, that, according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons.

In the midſt of this epidemical phrenſy, which they had ſoon reaſon to repent, there were not wanting men, even of the royal party, who ſaw and lamented the miſeries which theſe precipitate proceedings were bringing on their country. Sir Matthew Hale, who is allowed by the Cavalier party, to have been poſſeſſed of exemplary piety and moderation, and who favoured the reſtoration, moved in the houſe of commons, that they ſhould conſider on what conditions Charles ſhould be reſtored; but Monk, who had brought matters to the deſired iſſue, roſe up, and with an air of authority, put a ſtop to their entering on the debate. After this ſome attempts were made by ſeveral members to conſider of limitations and conditions; but finding the tide ſtrongly againſt them, and that Monk informed Charles of every thing that was ſaid on that ſubject, they gave up the point,

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The buſineſs of the two houſes was now to vie with each other in their neglect of the liberties of their country, and in expreſſions of loyalty. Charles was proclaimed king on the 8th of May 1660, and a committee of lords and commons ſent to invite him to return and take poſſeſſion of the government.

Charles found, that the ſubmiſſion of his kingdom was followed by a treatment from foreign powers, very different from that he had received when only a neceſſitous exile. Spain invited him to return to the Netherlands, and embark at ſome of her maritime towns. France profeſſed a warm affection and regard, and offered Calais for the ſame purpoſe. The ſtates-general, who trembled at the very idea of an Engliſh republic, ſent deputies with a like friendly invitation. Charles accepted of this laſt offer; and as he paſſed from Breda to the Hague, was complimented by the Dutch of all ranks. When arrived at that town, the ſtates-general in a body, and afterwards the ſtates of Holland apart, complimented him in the moſt ſolemn manner. There all the ambaſſadors and public miniſters of every court in Europe repaired to him, and profeſſed the joy of their maſters on the unexpected turn of his fortune. Every perſon of diſtinction was ambitious of being introduced to him; and the Engliſh reſorted thither in ſuch numbers, that it was difficult for them to find entertainment in the town.

Admiral Montague, in order to ſhew his zeal, had ſailed off with the fleet for the coaſt of

of Holland, without waiting for orders from the parliament, and appearing in ſight of Schevelling, the duke of York went on board, and took the command of the fleet as high admiral.

When Charles landed at Dover, he was received by general Monk, accompanied by a guard of horſe, and by ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen of diſtinction. Monk had the honour of a royal embrace, and of receiving the George and Garter, which were put on by the dukes of York and Glouceſter. From Dover the king went to Canterbury, where he lay one night; he lay at Rocheſter another; and reached London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was alſo his birth-day, when he made a triumphant entry into the city; and paſſed through it in a magnificent proceſſion to Whitehall, where he received the compliments of the two houſes.

Charles had now the ſingular ſatisfaction of ſeeing a parliament compoſed of many of thoſe members who had torn the crown from the head of the late king, proſtrate at his feet, imploring pardon for the nation; and the vote for this ceremony preſented by Denzel Holles, one of the five members whom the king's father had gone into the houſe to ſeize with his own hands.

Thus Charles, after a ſeries of misfortunes and diſtreſſes, aſcended the throne of his father; and the people, after ſtruggling in defence of their invaluable privileges, admitted him to be their ſovereign, without the leaſt limitations of his power, or thoſe neceſſary ſtipulations

pulations for the general ſecurity of the public, which, according to every principle of freedom, ought to have been eſtabliſhed by the repreſentatives of the people.

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

It will be here proper to take a view of the commerce, arts, ſciences, and manners of the age.

During the peaceable part of Charles the Firſt's reign, the induſtry and commerce of England was extremely encreaſed. The Engliſh poſſeſſed almoſt the ſole trade with Spain: twenty thouſand pieces of cloth were annually ſent to Turky; and the trade to Guinea and the Eaſt Indies became conſiderable. Commerce received ſome interruption from the civil wars; but ſoon recovered, after the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch greatly promoted the trade of England; but that with Spain was equally prejudicial. The prevalence of the principles of liberty, which brought mankind more upon a level, engaged the country-gentlemen to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants, and commerce has been ever ſince more honourable in England, than in any other kingdom in Europe. The excluſive companies, by which trade had been confined by royal charters, were never, during the commonwealth, expreſsly aboliſhed by any ordinance of parliament; but no regard being paid to the prerogative whence thoſe charters were derived, theſe monopolies were gradually invaded; and commerce encreaſed

creaſed with the encreaſe of liberty. Money became more plentiful; and in 1650, intereſt was reduced to ſix per cent. From 1619 to 1638, there had been coined 6,900,042 l.; and from 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted to 7,733,521 l.

In 1653, the Poſt-houſe was farmed at 10,000 l. a year, which was eſteemed a conſiderable ſum for the three kingdoms: but letters paid then only about half the preſent poſtage.

The firſt mention of chocolate, tea, and coffee, is about the year 1660; and about the ſame time aſparagus, colliflowers, artichokes, and a variety of ſallads, were introduced into England.

The colony of New England was founded by the Puritans, who fled thither from the rigorous perſecutions of Laud, in the reign of Charles I. For a like reaſon the Catholics, who afterwards found themſelves expoſed to many hardſhips, went over in great numbers to America, and ſettled the colony of Maryland.

Learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, before the civil wars; and a good taſte began to prevail in the nation. Charles I. loved pictures; was a judge of painting, and ſometimes handled the pencil himſelf. The pieces of foreign maſters were bought up at a vaſt price; and from the emulation between Charles I. and Philip IV. of Spain, the value of pictures doubled in Europe. Many eminent maſters ſettled in England, and were encouraged at court. Architecture alſo flouriſh-

ed; and Inigo Jones was maſter of the king's buildings. Notwithſtanding the narrow revenue of Charles I. he lived in ſuch magnificence, that he poſſeſſed twenty-four palaces, all of them elegantly and completely furniſhed. Charles was, however, far from encouraging literary merit.

As civil wars, founded on principles of liberty, preſent noble and intereſting objects to the mind, they amply compenſate for that tranquility of which they bereave the muſes. Hence the ſpeeches of the parliamentary orators are much ſuperior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compaſs of the Engliſh language, was then firſt put to trial. And hence this period abounds with the moſt admirable authors.

John Milton, who was born on the ninth of December 1608, was diſtinguiſhed by being the moſt ſublime poet who wrote either in our own, or in any other language, Homer and Taſſo not accepted. His Paradiſe Loſt not only ſurpaſſed all the performances of his contemporaries, though it was wrote during a ſtate of blindneſs, danger, and old age, but is ſtill admired as an inimitable effort of the human mind. His L'Alegro and Il Penſeroſo, and alſo his Comus, are extremely beautiful, and his other poems abound with beauties. Moſt of his proſe works are in Latin, and are diſtinguiſhed by the force and clearneſs of his reaſoning.

The ſame praiſes are not due to the other poets of that time; Waller, the firſt refiner of

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the Engliſh tongue, is, indead, diſtinguiſhed by his gaiety, wit, and ingenuity; but his performances abound with many faults, and contain but feeble beauties.

Cowley, whoſe works were more praiſed and admired during his life-time; and more celebrated after his death than thoſe of the great Milton, had little ear for harmony; and his verſes are only known to be ſuch by the rhyme which terminates them. His numbers are rugged and untuneable; however, great ingenuity and vigour of thought ſometimes break out.

Sir John Denham is chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his Cooper's Hill, his principal performance, which has a loftineſs and vigour, ſuperior to that of any poet who wrote before him in rhyme: but he too is much inferior to the poets who ſucceeded him.

Among our proſe authors, none was more celebrated both abroad and at home than Hobbes. Clearneſs and propriety of ſtile are the chief excellencies of his writings: but being an enemy to religion, his ethics are only fitted to encourage licentiouſneſs, and his politics to promote tyranny.

Harvey, an admirable phyſician and anatomiſt, made a capital diſcovery in one of the moſt important branches of ſcience; and had the happineſs of eſtabliſhing his theory on the circulation of the blood, upon the moſt ſolid and convincing proofs.

In ſhort, the works of Nevil, Sydney, and Harrington, are performances which excel even the ancient claſſics on policy; and, in the cha-

racter of Andrew Marvel, are allowed to be united, in an exalted degree, the wit, the patriot, and the legiſlator.

It has been neceſſary, in the courſe of the reign of Charles I. and the commonwealth, to give an account of ſeveral ſects which at that time diſtinguiſhed themſelves: but the Quakers being enemies to war, made no figure in public tranſactions, and were therefore not mentioned; but being too conſiderable, and too ſingular a ſect to be omitted, I ſhall give an impartial account of them here, and ſhall be more particular, as they have been miſrepreſented by every other hiſtorian.

This ſect was founded by George Fox, who, in the reign of king Charles I. preached with ſuch fervour againſt the vices of the times, that his hearers frequently burſt into tears, and trembled, whence they were in deriſion called Quakers, but they, as a term of mutual love, ſtiled themſelves Friends. As to their religious ſentiments, they ſay, that reaſon is the gift of God to man, as a light and direction to him in this world; that the Old and New Teſtament contain a revelation of the will of God to man, through the influence of the Spirit of Truth, which directed the penmen in the writing of it, and that a ray of the ſame Light or Spirit of Truth ſtill dwells within the true Chriſtian of every denomination, as a witneſs to his mind of theſe truths, and a guide into all eſſential truths; and that theſe three evidences of the Supreme Being, right reaſon, eternal revelation, and the Spirit of Truth, or the

the Inward Witneſs, cannot poſſibly, in the nature of things, be at all contradictory to each other, all ſpringing from one and the ſame unchangeable fountain, God himſelf.

The Quakers do not deny the Trinity; but believe that the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, are truly and properly One: but they are very tender of quitting ſcripture terms for thoſe of the ſchoolmen, judging, that a curious enquiry into this ſubject tends little to godlineſs, and leſs to peace.

They have no regular clergy, but permit ſuch as are approved of by the body for their piety, to adminiſter advice to the people without reſpect to ſex or circumſtances, whether acquainted with human literature or not, and that without any fee or reward whatſoever, but what ariſes from an honeſt conſcientious diſcharge of their duty: for they are perſuaded, that purity of heart, and humility of mind, are far more eſſential qualifications for that holy office, than the higheſt attainments in human literature, or the moſt extenſive acquaintance with arts and ſciences. As to womens preaching, they believe it to be the practice of the primitive times, from the advice of the apoſtle, 1 Cor. xi. 5. where he ſays, "Every "woman that prayeth or propheſieth with her "head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head." In which epiſtle alſo the apoſtle gives directions to the women how to behave when they propheſied; and what he means by propheſying, he himſelf explains in the ſame epiſtle, where he ſaith, "He that propheſieth, ſpeaketh unto

"men to edification, and exhortation and "comfort, and he that propheſieth, edifieth "the church."

Contrary to the general opinion of Chriſtians, they believe neither baptiſm nor the Lord's ſupper to be of perpetual obligation; but that they were intended only for the infancy of the church, when the myſteries of truth lay concealed in figures and ſhadows, and obſerve, that it is ſufficient to them with reſpect to water baptiſm, that Jeſus never uſed it, and that it was no part of St. Paul's commiſſion. Hence they alledge, that truly feeling in themſelves, the very thing ſignified by outward water, bread and wine, they leave them off, as fulfilled in Chriſt, *who is in them the hope of their glory:* and henceforth they have but *one Lord, one faith, one baptiſm, one bread, and but one cup of bleſſings*; and that is the *new wine* of the kingdom of God, which is *within*.

They think thoſe words of Chriſt, *Swear not at all*, amount to a prohibition of ſolemn, as well as profane, ſwearing; and the government, accepting their ſolemn affirmation inſtead of an oath, they readily ſubmit to the ſame puniſhment in caſe of untruth, that is due by law to perjury.

They object to the paying of tythes, and church rates, which they conſider as unſcriptural, and inconſiſtent with the goſpel diſpenſation, though this frequently expoſes them to very vexatious and expenſive proſecutions. However, when the miniſter or others ſeize for theſe dues, they do not oppoſe them.

They

They are zealous advocates for liberty of conſcience in thoſe who differ ever ſo widely in opinion from themſelves, and are enemies to all perſecution for religion, agreeably to the fourteenth propoſition in Barclay's Apology, which affirms, that "the power of the civil magiſtrate doth not extend to matters purely religious and pertaining to conſcience."

They diſapprove of war, as inconſiſtent with the nature and perfection of the Chriſtian religion, which moſt eminently conſiſts in peace, love, and the forgiveneſs of our enemies, believing that Chriſt, the bleſſed Shepherd of his flock, will ever preſerve the faithful followers of his meekneſs, and the diſciples of his peaceable and forgiving doctrine.

As a preſervation againſt pride and extravagance, the Quakers think it beſt to keep nearly to one plain, neat, and decent habit, in their apparel: thinking that a deſire after gaiety and new faſhions leads to the neglect of what is more valuable, "the inward adorning of a "meek and quiet ſpirit, which, in the ſight "of God, is of great price." They alſo look upon mourning habits as no better than diſguiſed pride, frequently uſed where there is no real ſorrow; eſteeming the moſt certain token of reſpect towards their departed friends, is to love and cheriſh thoſe whom they loved, and by their whole deportment to demonſtrate, that they really revere their memory. For the like reaſons, they diſapprove of all coſtly furniture of houſes, luxurious tables, ſports, plays,

and

and drinking healths; which laſt has an evident tendency to drunkenneſs and quarrels.

They believe magiſtracy to be an ordinance of God, and that he that ruleth well is worthy of double honour, and deſerves to be much valued and eſteemed; and though they do not pull off their hats, or uſe forms of ſalutation, they treat their ſuperiors with a modeſt and awful diſtance, and all men with ſerioufneſs and gentleneſs. This, they ſay, is honouring of government and governors, and not empty titles, ſervile cringing and unmeaning forms of ſalutation.

To ſhew that they love order and good government, they carefully practiſe it amongſt themſelves. Their monthly meetings in the country are often compoſed of ſeveral ſingle congregations, called particular meetings: theſe particular meetings ſend repreſentatives to their monthly meeting, who are to report the ſtate and exigencies of their meetings, and bring back inſtructions to their next preparative meeting, as it is called, from their preparing, collecting, and putting the affairs of each particular meeting in fit order to be laid before the next monthly meeting. In every particular meeting, two, or more, of the moſt elderly, ſenſible, and exemplary men, are generally appointed to overſee the flock, to admoniſh and reprove, on occaſion; who are therefore called elders. Before they enter upon buſineſs at their monthly meetings, they commonly ſit ſome time in ſolemn mediation, and ſometimes one or more of their miniſters have a ſeaſonable word

of

of exhortation to the congregation. When worſhip is concluded, after the minutes of the laſt monthly meeting are conſidered, every particular meeting is called upon, to declare their particular exigencies; which are alſo duly conſidered. The general heads of the buſineſs of monthly meetings are the poor, orderly walking, integrity to their profeſſion, births, marriages, burials, certificates, ſufferings, &c.

Their quarterly meetings are generally held at the capital of the county. Theſe meetings conſiſt of the repreſentatives ſent from their ſeveral monthly meetings, who are to give an account of the ſtate of thoſe meetings; after which the exigencies of every monthly meeting are duly conſidered, and proper expedients provided. The yearly meeting is always held at London in Whitſun week, for no other reaſon, than becauſe it is a well-known and ſuitable time of the year for the brethren to come together from all parts. This meeting is compoſed of the country repreſentatives ſent from the quarterly meetings, city and country correſpondents and miniſters, with deputies from Ireland and Scotland. Here the reports of the repreſentatives ſhew the ſtate of the ſociety throughout the world, and proper meaſures are concerted for every emergency. This is eſteemed a moſt edifying time, becauſe it generally brings to the city their moſt eminent miniſters and elders from all parts. Their meeting is concluded with a printed epiſtle, ſetting forth the ſtate of the ſociety, with ſome ſeaſonable advice; the general paragraphs of which

which are; parents and maſters to excite their families to the diligent reading of the holy Scriptures; that they diligently attend the meetings for worſhip; that they wait upon the Lord in ſilence, in order to have a true reliſh and favour of the miniſtry of thoſe who are rightly concerned by the ſame ſpirit, to labour in word and doctrine amongſt them; that they maintain their Chriſtian teſtimony againſt tythes, and forced maintenance of miniſters; that they be careful not to defraud the king of his cuſtoms, duties, or exciſe, and to avoid dealing in goods ſuſpected to be run; that a ſpirit of love and humility may more and more diffuſe itſelf amongſt them, and influence the hearts of all, they are exhorted to peace, and mutual forgiveneſs, and right conduct towards others. Diſorderly walkers and backſliders are dealt with according to the nature of the caſe. If neither private admonition, nor the admonition of the particular meeting, has the deſired effect, to reclaim the offender, he is complained of to the monthly meeting, where again he is intreated in love to mend his ways. But if no ſufficient tokens of amendment appear in ſome months after, or that the offence be groſs, the particular meeting he belongs to, is uſually directed to draw up a teſtimony of denial againſt him, and preſent it to the next monthly meeting; which, when approved of, is generally ſigned by the clerk in behalf of the meeting. Theſe papers of denial are to be read in the meeting the defaulter belongs to, at the concluſion of their worſhip; and copies thereof

thereof diſperſed, as the occaſion may require, that the public may be ſatisfied, that the ſociety by no means approves of the conduct of ſuch unworthy men. The following is a copy of one againſt a perſon for defrauding his creditors: "Since this moral precept of our "Lord, to do by others as we would be done "unto, is ſuch a main part of Chriſtianity, as "without the due obſervation thereof, all the "moſt ſpecious ſhews of religion will avail us "nothing; it becomes the indiſpenſable duty "of Chriſtians in all ages, as much as in them "lies, to ſee that their aſſemblies are com-"poſed of ſuch men, whoſe upright carriage "in their outward dealings demonſtrates, that "they are ſincere diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt. "And inaſmuch as we find, on due inquiry "and examination, that M. N. has been diſ-"regardful of this plain and principal law of "our Divine Lawgiver, by not delivering up "his effects amongſt his creditors in due time, "to their great injury, and very great diſcon-"tent, as the waſte of his ſubſtance was in-"tirely owing to careleſſneſs and extravagancy; "which conduct he perfectly knew was alſo "quite contrary to the good inſtructions, and "wholeſome diſcipline, ſo piouſly and wiſely "recommended and ſettled by our worthy eld-"ers now at reſt; we therefore, from a juſt "abhorrence of ſuch unrighteouſneſs, hereby "declare, that henceforth we do not account "him a member of our Chriſtian church, un-"til he ſhew ſuch tokens of repentance, as

"ſhall

" ſhall bear due proportion to his offence, " which we ſincerely deſire."

There lies an appeal from the monthly meeting to the quarterly meeting, and from this to the yearly meeting; for if a man be denied by a monthly meeting, either for diſorderly walking, or on civil caſes, or not ſubmitting matters in difference with another to arbitration, but will, without conſent of the meeting, go to law; or, if an award be made, and one of the parties will not abide by it; in ſuch like caſes the perſon, who thinks himſelf aggrieved by the judgment of the ſubordinate meetings, has a right to appeal to the yearly meeting at London, where the caſe comes before a committee of twelve, which is always a changeable committee, and in which all the counties take their turn; the repreſentatives of that county, againſt whom an appeal lies, being excluded. If either party intimate a diſſatisfaction with what the committee has done, the caſe is again conſidered, either before a larger committee, or the whole meeting, whoſe judgment is final.

When two perſons declare their intentions of marriage before a monthly meeting, theſe queſtions are put: Are you clear of all others, and have you the conſent of your parents or friends concerned? To which, if they cannot anſwer in the affirmative, an intire ſtop is put to their proceedings. And, however full in the affirmative their anſwer may be, their parents muſt either perſonally, or by a duly witneſſed certificate, confirm their anſwer.

And

And the meeting alſo frequently appoints two men, and two women, to make due inquiry concerning their clearneſs from all others, and make report thereof to the next monthly meeting; when, if no ſufficient reaſon appears to the contrary, they have conſent to proceed, by appointing a meeting for the ſolemnization of their marriage when they pleaſe; and two perſons are nominated to attend it, to ſee that good order be kept, and make report thereof to the next monthly meeting.

When the day of marriage is come, they uſually ſit in the moſt conſpicuous place of the meeting, with their relations and friends about them. After ſome time for ſolemn meditation on the important contract they are going to enter into with each other, and, perhaps, after a ſeaſonable exhortation and prayer by one or more of their miniſters, they ſtand up, and taking each other by the hand in a ſolemn manner, the man audibly declares to this purpoſe: "Friends, in the fear of the Lord, and "in the preſence of this aſſembly, whom I "deſire to be my witneſſes, I take this my "friend, M. N. to be my wife, promiſing, "through divine aſſiſtance, to be unto her a "loving and faithful huſband, till death ſe-"parate us." Then the woman makes the like declaration. After which one audibly reads a certificate, ſetting forth the aforeſaid orderly proceedings of this couple at the monthly meetings, and the ſolemn words of the marriage-contract; to which the new-married people ſet their hands firſt, and then (as witneſſes)

neſſes) their near relations and friends, with as many of the congregation as pleaſe. The original belongs to the bride and bridegroom; but a true copy is to be regiſtered in the monthly meeting books. Parents name their own children; and, at London, they have a printed certificate, ſetting forth the names of the parents and child, with the time of its birth, which is ſigned by the midwife, and ſome of the company preſent; which certificate is filed in the proper meeting, and alſo a fair copy entered in the book of births. Their burials are alſo regiſtered with like care.

In conducting a funeral, if it be not otherwiſe inconvenient, the body of the deceaſed is frequently carried to a meeting-houſe, where probably ſome of their miniſters preach to the congregation. After which, the corpſe, which is always laid in a plain coffin, is generally carried to the grave by ſuch as come to pay their laſt office of love to their departed friend. At the ground, the corpſe being ſet down by the grave-ſide, in ſolemn ſilence, they pauſe awhile before they interr it, that the minds of the ſpectators may be the more deeply touched with a ſenſe of their approaching exit, and their future ſtate: and ſometimes alſo here again a miniſter has a ſeaſonable word of exhortation to the auditory.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK VII.

From the Reſtoration of Charles II. to the Revolution.

CHAP. I.

CHARLES II.

His new Miniſtry. The Act of Indemnity. Prelacy reſtored. An Inſurrection of a few Millenarians. The Scots deprived of their civil and religious liberty, and the Marquis of Argyle beheaded. Conference at the Savoy. The Biſhops reſtored to their Seats in Parliament. Acts paſſed deſtructive of Liberty. The Act

of Uniformity. The King's Marriage. The Trial and Execution of Vane. The diſſenting Miniſters ejected. Dunkirk ſold. The Declaration of Indulgence. The Triennial Act repealed. The Diſſenters made liable to Fines and Impriſonment. A Rupture with the Dutch, and the Progreſs of that War. The Five Mile Act. The Plague and Fire of London. Diſgrace at Chatham. The Peace of Breda. Clarendon's Fall and Baniſhment. The Triple League. The Cabal. Alliance with France for eſtabliſhing Popery in England, and the Deſtruction of Holland. The Coventry Act. Blood's Crimes. The Duke declares himſelf a Catholic. The Exchequer ſhut. A Declaration of Indulgence. The ſecond Dutch War. The Prince of Orange made Stadtholder. The War continued. A Peace with the Dutch. The Struggles of the Parliament againſt the Miniſtry. The uncertain Conduct of the King, and the Parliament's Diſtruſt of him. The Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princeſs Mary. The Peace of Nimeguen. Perſecutions in Scotland. The Popiſh Plot. Godfrey's Murder. The Impeachment of Danby. The Diſſolution of the Long Parliament. The Execution of Coleman and Ireland. The Bill of Excluſion. The Habeas Corpus Bill. The Trial and Execution of Five Jeſuits, and of Langhorn. The Murder of Archbiſhop Sharpe in Scotland. An Inſurrection in that Kingdom, and the Battle of Bothwell-bridge. The Meal-Tub Plot. The Excluſion Bill proſecuted by a New Parliament. The

Trial

CHARLES II.

Trial and Execution of Stafford. A New Parliament at Oxford. The Earl of Argyle's Trial. Perſecutions in Scotland. The King's Invaſion of the Charters. A Conſpiracy. The Rye-houſe Plot. Lord Ruſſell's Trial and Execution. Sidney's Trial and Execution. Farther Trials and Puniſhments. Great Power of the King and Duke. The King's Death and Character.

CHARLES II. having aſcended the throne on the twenty-ninth of May 1660, was then thirty years of age, and poſſeſſed of a vigorous conſtitution. By his whole demeanor, he was well qualified to ſupport his popularity: he united to a lively wit, a general obſervation both of men and things; had an eaſy unaffected politeneſs of manners, and an engaging gaiety. Being accuſtomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a ſovereign prince, he retained the ſame open affability while on the throne; and appearing totally void of reſentment, from the natural careleſſneſs of his temper, he ſeemed to enſure pardon to his moſt bitter enemies; and to allow thoſe who had moſt violently oppoſed him, to hope for favour.

The king admitted ſome of the moſt eminent men of the popular party into his privy-council, and three of the moſt noted into the peerage. Anneſley was created earl of Angleſey; Aſhley Cooper, lord Aſhley; Denzil Holles, lord Holles. The earl of Mancheſter was appointed lord chamberlain; and

lord Say, privy-ſeal. Calamy and Baxter, Preſbyterian clergymen, were even made the king's chaplains.

Admiral Montague was, for his late ſervices, created earl of Sandwich; and Monk, duke of Albemarle, and was ever treated by the king with great marks of reſpect. Charles's eaſy diſpoſition, and the prudent behaviour of the general, who never over-rated his merits, prevented the diſguſt which has ſometimes ariſen when a prince has been highly obliged. Albemarle had neither an extenſive capacity, nor ſhining abilities; and, upon a nearer acquaintance, appeared to be wholly unequal to the great atchievement he had performed, and unfit for a court life, to which he had never been accuſtomed. Morrice, his friend, was made ſecretary of ſtate; and was ſupported more by the credit of his patron, than by his own abilities.

The king's principal favourites were Sir Edward Hyde, whom he created earl of Clarendon, chancellor, and prime-miniſter: the marquis of Ormond was created a duke, and made ſteward of the houſhold: the earl of Southampton, high-treaſurer; and Sir Edward Nicholas, ſecratary of ſtate. Theſe being united in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, ſupported each other's credit.

Univerſal joy and feſtivity were diffuſed thro' the nation. The former auſterity and ſobriety of manners, now gave way to a general levity: gaiety, mirth, and riot prevailed; for the royaliſts, who had always affected a contrary diſpoſition

MONK, Duke of
ALBEMARLE.

poſition to thoſe who had ever oppoſed the uſurpations of the crown, finding, in their late ſucceſs, motives of triumph, endeavoured to bring their manners into repute; and the king himſelf, who had a ſtrong propenſity to pleaſure, by his powerful example ſpread the contagion. The general face of the nation was changed, and the leaſt appearance of religion, was become the ſubject of ridicule.

This parliament being ſummoned without the king's conſent, was, at firſt, called a convention, till an act was paſſed, and ſigned by the king, which gave it the name of parliament.

The king, before his reſtoration, had, in his declaration at Breda, promiſed an indemnity to all criminals, but ſuch as ſhould be excepted by parliament; and he now iſſued a proclamation, that ſuch of the late king's judges as did not ſurrender themſelves priſoners within fourteen days, ſhould be excluded from pardon. Nineteen delivered themſelves up: ſome were taken in their flight; and others eſcaped beyond ſea. When the act of indemnity was brought in, the upper houſe were diſpoſed to uſe much greater ſeverity than the commons; and reſolved to except not only the late king's judges, but every one who had ſat in any high court of juſtice; and the earl of Briſtol had even moved, that no pardon might be granted to thoſe who had any way contributed to the king's death. Such an exception, in which all might be comprehended who had ſerved the parliament, gave a general alarm.

But

But the king ſoon diſſipated theſe fears. He entered the houſe of peers, and earneſtly preſſed an act of general indemnity. He urged both its neceſſity, and his former promiſe, which he ſaid he would ever regard as ſacred; ſince to this, he probably owed the ſatisfaction he at preſent enjoyed of meeting his people in parliament. This meaſure of the king was received with great ſatisfaction and applauſe. The act of indemnity having paſſed both houſes, ſoon received the royal aſſent. In this act, not only thoſe who were living were excepted, who had an immediate hand in the king's death, but thoſe who were dead; and Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and others, were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited. Lambert and Vane, though none of the regicides, were alſo excepted. St. John, and ſeventeen others, were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment; and all who had ſat in any high court of juſtice, were diſabled from bearing offices. Theſe were all the ſeverities which immediately followed ſuch furious civil wars.

The parliament next ſettled the king's revenue. As the tenures of wards and liveries, together with that of purveyance, had long been regarded as a grievous burthen, 100,000 l. a year was offered as a compenſation for them; and half of the exciſe was ſettled in perpetuity upon the crown, as a fund, whence this revenue ſhould be levied. Tonnage and poundage, and the other half of the exciſe, were granted to the king during life: and it was voted

voted that the ſettled revenue of the crown, ſhould be 1,200,000 l. a year; a larger ſum than any Engliſh monarch had ever before enjoyed. The crown lands alſo, though ſold under the commonwealth for valuable conſiderations, were now, with the lands of the church, taken from the purchaſers, without making the leaſt ſatisfaction. A proceeding highly unjuſt and injurious.

As it was neceſſary to diſband the army, both for the ſecurity of the king and the parliament, an aſſeſſment was impoſed of 70,000 l. a month; but it was at firſt voted to continue only three months; and all the other ſums they levied for that purpoſe by a poll-bill and new aſſeſſments, were ſtill granted by parcels, as if the commons were not yet well aſſured of the fidelity of that hand to which they entruſted theſe revenues.

The parliament having proceeded thus far in the ſettlement of the nation, adjourned for ſome time; and during the receſs, the attention of the people was excited by the trial and condemnation of thoſe who had been excluded from pardon. The general indignation againſt thoſe who had ſat on the king's trial, made their ſufferings the ſubject of joy to the people. "But in the peculiar circumſtances of that "action, ſays Mr. Hume, in the prejudices "of the times, as well as in the behaviour of "the criminals, a mind, ſeaſoned with hu-"manity, will find a plentiful ſource of com-"paſſion and indulgence. Can any one, "without the utmoſt concern for human

"blind-

" blindneſs and ignorance, conſider the de-
" meanor of general Harriſon, who was firſt
" brought to his trial? With great courage
" and elevation of ſentiment, he told the
" court, that the pretended crime, of which
" he ſtood accuſed, was not a deed, performed
" in a corner: the ſound of it had gone forth
" to moſt nations; and in the ſingular and
" marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appear-
" ed the ſovereign power of heaven. That he
" himſelf, agitated by doubts, had often, with
" paſſionate tears, offered up his addreſſes to
" the Divine Majeſty, and earneſtly ſought for
" light and conviction: he had ſtill received
" aſſurance of a heavenly ſanction, and re-
" turned from theſe devout ſupplications with
" more ſerene tranquility and ſatisfaction.
" That all the nations of the earth were, in
" the eyes of their Creator, leſs than a drop of
" water in the bucket; nor were their errone-
" ous judgments aught but darkneſs, compared
" with divine illuminations. That theſe fre-
" quent illapſes of the divine ſpirit he could
" not ſuſpect to be intereſted illuſions; ſince
" he was conſcious, that, for no temporal ad-
" vantage, would he offer injury to the pooreſt
" man or woman that trod upon the earth.
" That all the allurements of ambition, all
" the terrors of impriſonment had not been
" able, during the uſurpation of Cromwell,
" to ſhake his ſteady reſolution, or bend him
" to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant.
" And that when invited by him to ſit on the
" right hand of the throne, when offered riches
" and

" and ſplendor and dominion, he had diſdain-
" fully rejected all temptations; and neglect-
" ing the tears of his friends and family, had
" ſtill, through every danger, held faſt his
" principles and his integrity."

Only ſix of the late king's judges were executed. Harriſon, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope: Scrope was the only one of all who came in upon the king's proclamation. Coke, the ſolicitor for the people of England; Axtell, who had guarded the high court of juſtice; Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution; and Hugh Peters, Oliver's chaplain, were all tried, condemned, and ſuffered with the king's judges. Theſe all went to execution, expreſſing the moſt aſſured confidence in the favour of heaven, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were ſet before them. The reſt of the king's judges were graciouſly reprieved, and diſperſed into ſeveral priſons.

The rejoicings of the court were not interrupted by the puniſhment of declared enemies: but on the thirteenth of September, a cloud was thrown over them, by the death of the duke of Glouceſter, who was twenty years of age, when the ſmall-pox put an end to his life. The king was extremely affected: Glouceſter was obſerved to poſſeſs the clear judgment and penetration of the king, with the induſtry and application of the duke of York; and was thought to have an affection for the religion and conſtitution of his country.

The

The parliament met, after a receſs of near two months, and proceeded in the great work of ſettling the nation. They eſtabliſhed the poſt-office, wine-licences, and ſome articles of the revenue. Buſineſs being carried on with great unanimity, was ſoon diſpatched; and after they had ſat near two months, the king diſſolved them, with many gracious expreſſions.

Clarendon, the chancellor, now haſted to diſband the army. The king, on reviewing theſe veteran troops, was ſtruck with their beauty, order, diſcipline, and martial appearance; and expreſſed a deſire of finding expedients to retain them: but that miniſter ſoon convinced him, that till they were diſbanded, he could never eſteem himſelf ſecurely eſtabliſhed on the throne. The only troops that were retained, were about 4000 foot, and 1000 horſe, for garriſons and guards. This was the firſt appearance under monarchy of a regular ſtanding army in England. The fortifications of Glouceſter, Taunton, and other towns, which had held out againſt the king during the civil wars, were demoliſhed.

The counſels of the earl of Clarendon, on many occaſions, tended to promote the intereſt both of the king and people. Charles being accuſtomed, in his exile, to pay an entire deference to his judgment, continued ſtill to follow his directions; and, for ſome time, no miniſter ever poſſeſſed more abſolute authority. He moderated the zeal of the royaliſts, and tempered their appetite for revenge: he endeavoured to induce the king to preſerve inviolate all

all his engagements: he kept an exact regiſter of the promiſes which had been made; and employed the utmoſt care in having them fulfilled. The chancellor was now nearly allied to the royal family: his daughter, Anne Hyde, a lady of ſpirit and fine accompliſhments, had, while abroad, liſtened to the duke of York's addreſſes; and, under promiſe of marriage, had privately admitted him to her bed. Soon after the reſtoration, ſhe appeared to be pregnant; and, though many endeavoured to diſſuade the king from conſenting to ſo unequal an alliance; Charles, pitying his friend and miniſter, who had been ignorant of their commerce, permitted his brother to marry her. This honour gave Clarendon great uneaſineſs; for his being elevated to ſo high a rank, made him juſtly dread a more ſudden fall.

Moſt of the particulars in Clarendon's adminiſtration have met with applauſe; but his conduct in eccleſiaſtical affairs evidently proceeded from narrow and bigotted prejudices. Had the jealouſy of royal power ſo far prevailed with the convention parliament, as to induce them to reſtore the king with ſtrict limitations, it is not to be doubted, that the eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian diſcipline would have been moſt ſtrictly inſiſted on: but the commons poſtponed the examination of religious controverſies; and entirely left the ſettlement of the church to the king and the laws. The king, at firſt, behaved with great moderation. Nine biſhops ſtill remained alive, and were im-

mediately reſtored to their ſees: all the ejected clergy recovered their livings: the liturgy was again admitted into the churches; and the king publiſhed a declaration, in order to ſatisfy the Preſbyterians; in which he promiſed, that he would provide ſuffragan biſhops for the larger dioceſes: that all the prelates ſhould be regular and conſtant preachers; and not confer ordination, or exerciſe any juriſdiction, without the advice and aſſiſtance of Preſbyters choſen by the dioceſe: that ſuch alterations ſhould be made in the liturgy as would render it unexceptionable: that, in the mean while, that manner of worſhip ſhould not be impoſed on thoſe who were unwilling to receive it; and that the ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus, ſhould not be rigidly inſiſted on.

The king iſſued this declaration as head of the church. But though a mitigated epiſcopacy only ſeemed to be inſiſted on, it was far from the intention of the miniſtry to behave with ſuch candour. The madneſs of a few Millenarians afforded them a pretence for departing from it. Venner, a crazy enthuſiaſt, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwell, having inflamed his own imagination, and that of a few of his followers, iſſued forth with ſixty of them, completely armed, into the ſtreets of London, proclaiming king Jeſus, whom they ſaid was their invincible leader. Every one fled before them, except one man, who, on being queſtioned, ſaid, He was for God and King Charles, and was inſtantly ſlain.

The

The magiſtrates having at length aſſembled ſome trained-bands, attacked them: when they defended themſelves with great bravery and order; and after killing many of their oppoſers, retreated into Cane-wood, near Hampſtead. The next morning they were driven from thence by a detachment of the guards; but returning to the city, which was unprepared to receive them, they traverſed almoſt every ſtreet, and then retired into a houſe, which they reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. But being ſurrounded, and the houſe untiled, they were fired upon from every ſide; yet ſtill refuſing quarter, the people ruſhed in upon them, and ſeizing the few who were alive, they were tried, condemned, and executed.

The miniſtry took occaſion, from this inſurrection, to repreſent the dangerous ſpirit of the Preſbyterians, and of all the ſectaries; though the madneſs of the attempt ſufficiently proved, that it was not carried on in concert with any of them: but a pretence was wanted for juſtifying the intended rigours that were reſolved to be inflicted on all who oppoſed the hierarchy; and this reaſon, however ſlight, was eagerly laid hold of.

The miniſtry began with Scotland; and it was deliberated in the Engliſh council, whether the forts erected there by Cromwell, ſhould not be ſtill maintained, in order to curb the mutinous ſpirit of that people. Lauderdale, who had been detained priſoner in the Tower, from the battle of Worceſter to the reſtoration, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this violent meaſure; and,

by his arguments, induced the king to diſbard all the forces in Scotland, and to demoliſh all the forts which had been erected there. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was, in January 1661, ſent commiſſioner to a parliament ſummoned in that kingdom; and had ſuch influence as to obtain an act, which at once annulled all the laws that had paſſed ſince the year 1633, under the pretence of the violence which had been employed againſt the king and his father, in order to procure their aſſent to thoſe ſtatutes. This, with many dangerous innovations, overthrew the uſeful barriers erected to defend the conſtitution. The lords of articles, with ſome other branches of prerogative, were reſtored; and the royal authority re-eſtabliſhed in that kingdom, in its full extent.

By the abrogating of every ſtatute enacted in favour of Preſbytery, the prelacy was likewiſe tacitly reſtored; and the king deliberated on the uſe he ſhould make of this conceſſion. Lauderdale, being an enemy to epiſcopacy, endeavoured to perſuade him, that if the Scots were gratified in their enjoyment of their eccleſiaſtical government, they would comply with all his other demands. But Charles, notwithſtanding his having taking the covenant, and ſworn ſeveral times to preſerve the religion of that country, obſerved, that he thought Preſbyterianiſm was not a religion for a gentleman; and he could not conſent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Clarendon, Ormond, and the king's other miniſters, were

alſo

alſo averſe to the indulgence of the Scots in this particular; and a reſolution was taken to reſtore prelacy. Sharpe, who had been commiſſioned by the Preſbyterians in Scotland, to manage their intereſts with the king, was bribed to abandon them, by being created archbiſhop of St. Andrews; and as the conduct of eccleſiaſtical affairs was chiefly entruſted to him, he was eſteemed by his old friends as a traitor and a renegade.

As Charles had not promiſed an indemnity to the Scots, by the declaration of Breda, it was reſolved to hold over their heads the terror of puniſhment, till they had made all the compliances that were deſired by the new government; and that examples ſhould be made of the marquis of Argyle, and of one Guthry. Two acts of indemnity, one paſſed by the late king, in 1641, and another by the preſent, in 1651, were thought invincible obſtacles to the puniſhment of Argyle; and nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the uſurpation, which was common to him with the whole nation. To make this appear the more voluntary, there were produced in court, letters written to Albemarle, while that general governed Scotland for the commonwealth, and which contained expreſſions of the moſt cordial attachment to the eſtabliſhed government. Being thus baſely betrayed by Monk, his former friend, by thus revealing his private correſpondence, he was found guilty, and condemned to loſe his head, which was ordered to be fixed upon the place, from whence the head of

Montroſe had been lately taken down. Argyle behaved at his execution with great compoſure, declaring himſelf innocent of the late king's death, and exhorting the people to adhere to the covenant. The lord Lorne, his ſon, having ever preſerved his loyalty, obtained his forfeited eſtate. Guthry, who was a miniſter, confeſſed every thing laid to his charge, and ſeemed to glory in his ſufferings. On the ladder he made a kind of ſermon to the people, in which he juſtified all he had done, and extolled the covenant. Sir Archibald Johnſtone of Warriſton, was attainted and fled; but about two years after was ſeized in France, brought home, and executed.

The Scotch parliament, beſides theſe compliances, voted an additional revenue to the king of 40,000 l. a year, to be levied by an exciſe. By this revenue, a ſmall force was propoſed to be maintained, to prevent confuſion in that kingdom for the future; and an act was alſo paſſed, declaring the covenant unlawful, and its obligation null and void.

Mean while, by the lenity of Charles's adminiſtration in England, civil diſtinctions there ſeemed to be aboliſhed, and all men appeared to concur in ſubmitting to the king's lawful prerogatives, and in cheriſhing the juſt privileges of the people, and of the parliament. While the Catholics, the Independents, and other ſectaries, were content with the hopes of a toleration, Prelacy and Preſbytery ſtruggled for the ſuperiority; and on the twenty-fifth of March a conference was held in the Savoy, be-

tween

tween twelve biſhops and twelve of the Preſbyterian miniſters, with the intention, or at leaſt a pretence, of producing an accommodation between the parties. The croſs in baptiſm, kneeling at the ſacrament, the ſurplice, and bowing at the name of Jeſus, were canvaſſed a-new: but people were ſurprized to find them, when they ſeparated, more confirmed than ever in their ſeveral prejudices.

On the eighth of May a new parliament was aſſembled, in which no more than fifty-ſix members of the Preſbyterian party had obtained ſeats in the lower houſe; and theſe were unable either to oppoſe or retard the meaſures of the royaliſts and zealous churchmen. An act was therefore paſſed, for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government; and the covenant, together with the act for erecting the high-court of juſtice, that for ſubſcribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burned by the hands of the hangman. To prevent the abuſes ariſing from petitioning, it was enacted, that no more than twenty hands ſhould be affixed to any petition, except with the ſanction of three juſtices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition ſhould be preſented to the king, or either houſe, by above ten perſons, under the penalty of paying a fine of 100 l. and three months impriſonment.

Though the biſhops were reſtored to their ſpiritual authority, they were ſtill excluded from parliament by a law paſſed by the late king, immediately before the commencement

of

of the civil diſorders; an act was, therefore, now paſſed, for reſtoring the biſhops to their ſeats in the houſe of peers; and Charles expreſſed great ſatisfaction when he gave his aſſent to it.

The power of the ſword had, in all ages, been allowed to be veſted in the crown; and though this prerogative was conferred by no law, every parliament, till the laſt of the preceding reign, had willingly ſubmitted to an authority more ancient, than that of any poſitive ſtatute. The parliament, therefore, now paſſed an act, by which they acknowledged, that neither one houſe, nor both houſes, independently of the king, were poſſeſſed of any military authority. The preamble of this ſtatute even went ſo far, as to renounce all right of defenſive arms againſt the king; which, if taken in its full literal ſenſe, muſt imply a renunciation of all the limitations ſet to monarchy, and of all the privileges of the ſubject; and reduce the people to a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery. For as no right can ſubſiſt without ſome remedy, eſpecially thoſe expoſed to the invaſions of ambition and tyranny; and if ſubjects muſt never reſiſt, it follows, that every prince is abſolute and uncontroulable: the ſovereign need only iſſue an edict, aboliſhing all laws, and every authority but his own; and all liberty will, from that moment, in fact, be annihilated.

The parliament likewiſe paſſed the corporation act, by which the king was empowered to appoint commiſſioners for regulating the corporations,

porations, and expelling ſuch magiſtrates as either had intruded themſelves by violence, or profeſſed principles dangerous to the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. It was alſo enacted, that all magiſtrates ſhould diſclaim the obligation of the covenant, and ſhould declare not only that it was unlawful upon any pretence whatſoever to reſiſt the king, but their abhorrence of the poſition of taking arms by the king's authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe who were commiſſioned by him. On the words *commiſſioned by him*, in the latter part of the oath, being debated, Sir John Vaughan, an eminent lawyer, earneſtly preſſed the houſe, that the word *lawfully* might be added, in order to remove all difficulties. But Sir Heneage Finch, the attorney-general, anſwered, that it was unneceſſary; ſince any power, not lawfully iſſued to lawful perſons, and for a lawful purpoſe, was, in reality, no commiſſion at all; and to this the whole houſe ſeemed to aſſent. In the houſe of peers, Southampton endeavoured to have the ſame word *lawfully* added; but Angleſey returned a like anſwer; and though Southampton ſtill inſiſted, that ſuch an addition would clear all obſcurities, he was unable to prevail.

This parliament, ſo earneſtly bent on demoliſhing all the barriers of liberty, was no leſs attentive to the care of the church, than to that of monarchy; and, as a pledge of their ſincere attachment to the epiſcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy to the Preſbyterians, paſſed a bill of uniformity, which required, that

that every clergyman, who had not received epiſcopal ordination, ſhould be re-ordained: that he ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing containing in the book of Common Prayer; take the oath of canonical obedience; abjure the ſolemn league and covenant; and renounce the principles of taking arms againſt the king, on any pretence whatſoever. This bill re-inſtated the church in the ſame condition in which it ſtood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old perſecuting laws of Elizabeth ſtill ſubſiſted in their full vigour, and new clauſes of a like nature, were now enacted, all the promiſes made by the king at Breda, and ſince that time of toleration and indulgence to tender conſciences, were thereby baſely violated.

The royaliſts, who now prevailed in the houſe, were extremely ready in ſignalizing their victory over the friends of liberty; but were not ſo forward, nor ſo liberal, in providing for the king's revenue, as he wiſhed. His debts were become intolerable; and the commons at laſt voted him an extraordinary ſupply of 1,200,000 l. to be raiſed by eighteen monthly aſſeſſments. The king was obliged earneſtly to ſolicit the commons, before he could obtain this; and this ſum being much inferior to the occaſion, they at laſt, after much delay, voted a new impoſition of two ſhillings on each hearth, which they ſettled on the king during life. This parliament was prorogued on the nineteenth of May 1662.

Before

Before the riſing of the parliament, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of Catharine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who had juſt landed at Portſmouth. While the protector carried on the war againſt Spain, he was naturally led to ſupport the Portugueſe, who had thrown off the Spaniſh yoke; and had engaged himſelf, by treaty, to ſupply them with 10,000 men, againſt the Spaniards. On Charles's reſtoration, Portugal made advances for the renewal of that alliance; and to bind the friendſhip the cloſer, offered him the princeſs, with a portion of 500,000 l. and the two fortreſſes, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay, in the Eaſt Indies. Spain, which had, after the peace of the Pyrenees, uſed all her efforts to recover Portugal, took the alarm, and endeavoured to fix Charles in an oppoſite intereſt; and the Catholic king, to break the match, offered to adopt any other princeſs as a daughter of Spain, and to confer a dowery upon her, equal to that offered by Portugal. But no remonſtrances could prevail on the king to alter his intentions; and when the affair was laid before the council, they all approved of his reſolution; and the parliament expreſſed the ſame complaiſance. Thus was concluded, on the twenty-firſt of May 1662, Charles's inauſpicious marriage with Catharine, a princeſs of virtue, though ſhe was never able, either by the graces of her perſon or her humour, to render herſelf agreeable to the king.

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The feſtivity of this marriage was clouded by the trial and execution of Cobbet, Berkſtead, and Okey, three of the king's judges. They had eſcaped beyond ſea; and having wandered ſome time in Germany, came privately to Delft, where they appointed their families to meet them, but were diſcovered by Downing, the king's reſident in Holland; a man who had formerly ſerved the protector and commonwealth in the ſame ſtation, and who had even been chaplain to Okey's regiment. This wretch applied for a warrant to arreſt them. The ſtates had been accuſtomed to grant theſe warrants, though they always took care ſecretly to inform the perſons, that they might make their eſcape: but this precaution was eluded by Downing's vigilance and diſpatch; for inſtantly ſeizing them, they were hurried on board a frigate which lay off the coaſt, and ſent to England, where they were condemned and executed. Okey, at the place of execution, prayed for the king, and expreſſed his intention, had he lived, of ſubmitting peaceably to the preſent government. From being a chandler in London, he had riſen, during the wars, to a high rank in the army; and in his whole conduct, appeared to be a man of humanity and honour.

The trial of Lambert and Vane, about the ſame time, alſo engaged the attention of the public. Though they were not of the number of the late king's judges, they had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to priſon. However, the convention parlia-

parliament had petitioned the king, if they ſhould be found guilty, to ſuſpend their execution: but this parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Vane was not indicted for any action which paſſed during the war between the king and parliament: it only extended to his behaviour after the late king's death, as member of the council of ſtate, and ſecretary of the navy; and the crime for which he was tried, was fidelity to his truſt, which required an oppoſition to monarchy. Upon his trial he ſhewed his capacity and courage. He maintained, that if a compliance with the government then eſtabliſhed in England, and acknowledging its authority, was to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation was equally guilty, and none remained, whoſe innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him: that the legiſlature of England had provided for public ſecurity, by the famous ſtatute of Henry VII. in which it was enacted, that no man, in caſe of any revolution, ſhould ever be queſtioned for his obedience to the king in being: that whether the eſtabliſhed government was a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reaſon of the thing was ſtill the ſame; and the expelled prince had no right to think himſelf entitled to allegiance, while he could not afford protection: that it belonged not to private perſons, poſſeſſed of no power, to diſcuſs the titles of their governors; and every uſurpation, even the moſt flagrant, would equally require obedience with the moſt legal eſtabliſhment: that, for his part,

all the violences which had been put upon the parliament, and upon the perſon of the ſovereign, he had ever condemned; nor had he once appeared in the houſe, for ſome time before and after the execution of the king: that finding the whole government thrown into diſorder, he was reſolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the commons, the root and foundation of all lawful authority: that in the proſecution of this principle, he had chearfully ſuffered under the violence of Cromwell's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expoſe himſelf to the rigours of perverted law and juſtice: that though, on the king's reſtoration, it was in his power to have eſcaped from his enemies, he was reſolved, in imitation of the moſt illuſtrious names of antiquity, to periſh in defence of liberty, and to give teſtimony with his blood for that honourable cauſe, in which he had been enliſted; and that beſides the ties by which he was bound, both by God and nature, to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the moſt ſacred covenant, whoſe obligation no earthly power ſhould ever be able to make him relinquiſh.

After this defence the court brought him in guilty, but his courage did not deſert him: for, though naturally timid, his perſuaſion that his cauſe was juſt, ſupported him againſt the terrors of death. On the fourteenth of June 1662, he was brought to the ſcaffold: but leſt pity for the brave ſufferer ſhould make an impreſſion on the populace, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, whoſe noiſe, as ſoon

as

as he began to ſpeak, drowned his voice, and made him temper the ardour of his zeal. He was not diſconcerted at this unexpected incident; but in his whole behaviour there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; for he conſidered death only as a paſſage to eternal felicity.

Vane was the laſt that ſuffered, on account of the civil wars; for though Lambert was condemned, he was reprieved at the bar. He ſurvived his condemnation near thirty years; during which he was confined to the iſle of Guernſey, where he lived contented, forgetting all his paſt ſchemes of greatneſs, and entirely forgot by the nation. He was ſaid to have died a Papiſt.

St. Bartholomew's day now approached, when the clergy were obliged, by the late act of uniformity, either to ſign the articles required of them, or to relinquiſh their livings. The terms of ſubſcription had been made ſtrict and rigorous, in order to prevent their conforming; and about 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquiſhed their cures, and reſolved to undergo any hardſhips, rather than openly renounce their principles. Thus the church enjoyed the pleaſure of retaliation, and even puſhed their vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been left to the ejected clergymen; but though this indulgence was at firſt inſiſted on by the houſe of peers, it was now refuſed to the diſſenters. Biſhoprics were, however, offered to Calamy, Bax-

ter, and Reynolds, eminent Preſbyterian miniſters; but the laſt only could be prevailed on to accept of one. Many of the other miniſters refuſed to accept of deaneries, and other preferments.

Charles's next meaſure was juſtified by no party. Notwithſtanding the large ſupplies he received from parliament, his diſſolute conduct had emptied the treaſury, and involved him in debt. To remedy this, he ſtruck up a bargain with Lewis XIV. which tended to encreaſe the power of France; and ſold Dunkirk, which had been acquired with ſuch glory by Cromwell, for the ſum of 400,000 l. with all the artillery and ſtores of that important fortreſs.

Soon after a new incident gave a glimpſe of the king's policy, which the nation, at firſt, was at a loſs how to interpret; but which was rendered ſufficiently plain by ſubſequent events. On the twenty-ſixth of December he iſſued a declaration, on the pretence of mitigating the rigours of the act of uniformity; in which he mentioned the promiſes of liberty of conſcience contained in his declaration of Breda; and ſubjoined, that, as in the firſt place, he had been zealous to ſettle the uniformity of the church of England, in diſcipline, ceremony, and government, and ſhould ever conſtantly maintain it; ſo, as for what concerned the penalties upon thoſe who living peaceably, did not conform to them, but modeſtly, and without ſcandal, performed their devotions in their own way, he would make it his ſpecial care to incline the parliament to concur with

with him in making an act, that might enable him to exercise, with more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing, which he conceived to be inherent in him. Here the king laid claim to a prerogative of dispensing with the laws, under such artful reserves as might prevent a full discussion of the claim: but the foundation of this measure lay much deeper, and was of the utmost consequence.

Charles had, during his exile, obtained a very favourable opinion of the Catholic religion; and, according to the most probable accounts, had been already secretly reconciled, in form, to the church of Rome. The solicitations and importunities of his mother, the company he frequented, and the view of a more splendid and courtly mode of worship, had operated powerfully on a young prince, whose careless and dissolute disposition prevented his adhering closely to the principles of his early education. But while Charles's thoughtless humour rendered him an easy convert to Popery, the same disposition prevented the theological opinions of that sect taking any fast hold of him. While his blood was warm, and his spirits high, he shewed the utmost contempt and disregard for all religion: but in those revolutions of temper, when his love of debauchery and profane raillery gave place to reflection, and his mind was clouded with fears and apprehensions, he had starts of conviction; and that sect, for which he had the greatest inclination, was master of his judgment.

While the king, during his whole reign, thus floated between irreligion, which he openly profeſſed, and Popery, to which he was ſecretly inclined, the duke of York, his brother, had zealouſly adopted all the principles of the Papiſts. By application to buſineſs, he had acquired an aſcendant over the king, who, though poſſeſſed of more diſcernment, was glad to throw the burthen of affairs on the duke. Under the pretence of eaſing the Proteſtant Diſſenters, they agreed to introduce a general toleration, and to give the Catholics the free exerciſe of their religion. They ſaw, with pleaſure, ſo numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuſe conformity, and hoped, under ſhelter of their names, to be able to grant favour and protection to the Catholics.

But the parliament, which ſat on the eighteenth of February 1663, were far from being ſatisfied with this meaſure; or inclined to favour either the Papiſts or the Proteſtant Diſſenters; in which they were encouraged by the king's miniſters, and particularly by Clarendon. The houſe of commons remonſtrated againſt it to the king; and, among other arguments, obſerved, that the propoſed indulgence would prove pernicious both to church and ſtate, open a door to ſchiſm, encourage faction, diſturb the public peace, and diſcredit the wiſdom of the legiſlature. After this remonſtrance, the king thought proper to lay aſide, for the preſent, his ſcheme of indulgence.

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The two houſes, in order to deprive the Catholics of all hope, concurred in a remonſtrance againſt them, to which the king gave a gracious anſwer; but at the ſame time profeſſed his gratitude towards many of that perſuaſion, on account of their faithful ſervices to his father and himſelf. For form ſake, a proclamation was ſoon after iſſued againſt Jeſuits and Romiſh prieſts; but in the very terms of it, care was taken to render it ineffectual. The parliament had allowed an exception for all foreign prieſts belonging to the two queens; and in the proclamation, the word *foreign* was purpoſely omitted; and thus the queens were authorized to protect as many Engliſh prieſts as they thought proper.

Charles, to reap ſome advantage from his fallacious compliances, engaged the commons to take his revenue again into conſideration; for, notwithſtanding the ſale of Dunkirk, he complained, that his debts amounted to a conſiderable ſum. The commons, upon this, voted him four ſubſidies, which was the laſt time that taxes were levied in that manner.

Mean while Clarendon ſenſibly declined in his credit at court; and in proportion as the king found himſelf eſtabliſhed on the throne, he began to alienate himſelf from a miniſter, whoſe character was ſo different from his own. Clarendon always oppoſed the king's favouring the Catholics: he checked or refuſed the prodigal grants of the king; and both he and his friend Southampton, made it a rule never to enter into any connection with the royal miſtreſſes.

miſtreſſes. At this time the king's favourite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created dutcheſs of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, diſſolute, and revengeful. Exaſperated at Clarendon's paying her no marks of reſpect, ſhe did not fail to undermine his credit with the king; and her ſucceſs was evident to every body. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and Sir Harry Bennett, his profeſſed enemy, was advanced to that office, and ſoon after created lord Arlington.

People had been for ſome time convinced, that the virtues, by which the king had dazzled the nation, had great ſhew, but little ſolidity. That ſeeming openneſs and frankneſs of heart, which pleaſed all who came near him, was found not to be inconſiſtent with diſſimulation, and was experienced even by his friends, to be little to be relied on: his good underſtanding loſt much of its influence, by his want of application: his bounty was rather the reſult of a facility of diſpoſition, than of any generoſity: his jovial humour frequently led him to neglect his dignity: his love of pleaſure was not directed by propriety and decency; and while he appeared to have a regard for every one that approached him, he was incapable of friendſhip, he regarded none who were not ſubſervient to his pleaſures, and ſecretly harboured a very bad opinion of all mankind. He was even ungrateful to the unfortunate cavaliers, who had been his father's and his own beſt friends, and whoſe zeal and

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nificant and unfit to ſupport his meaſures; and as many falſe and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indolence, averſe to a ſtrict enquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. Beſides, the king's revenues were never equal to his expences; and his miſtreſſes, and the companions of his mirth and pleaſures, by their ſolicitations, gained, from his eaſy temper, every requeſt they made him. The parliament, however, took ſome notice of the poor cavaliers; and 60,000 l. were, at one time, diſtributed among them: Mrs. Lane alſo, and the Penderell's, had handſome preſents and penſions from the king; but the greateſt part of the royaliſts ſtill remained in poverty and diſtreſs, aggravated by the cruel diſappointment of their ſanguine hopes, and by ſeeing favour and perferment beſtowed upon their moſt inveterate enemies. Hence it was wittily ſaid, that the act of oblivion was an act of pardon for his enemies, and oblivion for his friends.

In the next ſeſſion of parliament, the king, in his ſpeech, openly demanded a repeal of the triennial act; and even went ſo far as to declare, that notwithſtanding the law, he would never allow any parliament to be aſſembled by the methods preſcribed in that ſtatute. The parliament, inſtead of taking offence at this amazing declaration, repealed the law; and in

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the room of the ſecurities formerly provided, ſatisfied themſelves with this general clauſe, that parliaments ſhould not be interrupted above three years at moſt: but before the end of Charles's reign, the nation had occaſion to feel, very ſenſibly, the effects of this baſe compliance.

Though, by the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who ſhould officiate without being qualified according to that act, was puniſhable by fine and impriſonment: the infernal ſpirit of perſecution was not ſatisfied, and it was now enacted, that wherever five perſons, above thoſe of the ſame houſhold, ſhould aſſemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was, for the firſt offence, to be impriſoned three months, or to pay 5 l.; for the ſecond offence, to be impriſoned ſix months, or to pay 10 l.; and for the third, to be tranſported ſeven years, or to pay 100 l. Thus were men to be puniſhed for daring to worſhip God, in the manner which their conſciences directed; and fined and impriſoned for performing what was their indiſpenſible duty.

Trade was now beginning to be an affair of general concern to the Engliſh: but the Dutch, who, by their induſtry and frugality, were enabled to underſell them in every market, retained the poſſeſſion of the moſt lucrative branches of commerce. Hence the merchants were ſtrongly prompted, from motives leſs juſt than political, to wiſh for a war with the States. This, with his majeſty's averſion to the Dutch, and the hatred entertained againſt them by the duke

duke of York, with the readineſs of a penſioned parliament to advance the neceſſary ſupplies, gave riſe to a war with the Dutch.

In 1664, a memorial was preſented to the States by Downing, the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, a man of an inſolent, impetuous temper, containing a liſt of thoſe depredations, of which the Engliſh complained. It is remarkable, that all theſe pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance was concluded with the Dutch; and theſe complaints were then thought either ſo unjuſt or ſo frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in the treaty. Only two ſhips, the Bonaventure and the Good Hope, had been claimed by the Engliſh; and it being agreed, that this claim ſhould be proſecuted by the ordinary courſe of juſtice, the States had conſigned a ſum of money, in caſe the cauſe ſhould be decided againſt them. Cary, who was entruſted by the proprietors with the management of the law-ſuit for the Bonaventure, on being offered 30,000 l. reſolved to accept it, but was hindered by Downing, who told him, that the claim was not a concern of private perſons, but a matter of ſtate between the two nations.

The king, unwilling to confine himſelf to memorials and remonſtrances, ſecretly diſpatched Sir Robert Holmes with twenty-two ſhips to the coaſt of Africa. That admiral expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome pretenſions; ſeized the Dutch ſettlements of Cape Verde and the Iſle

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of Goree, with ſeveral ſhips trading on that coaſt. Then ſailing to America, he took poſſeſſion of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York; a territory which James had given by patent to the earl of Sterling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. The States complaining of theſe hoſtile meaſures, Charles, unwilling to avow what he could not well juſtify, pretended to be entirely ignorant of Holmes's enterprize, and confined that admiral in the Tower; but ſome time after ſet him at liberty.

The Dutch finding that a ground of quarrel was induſtriouſly ſought for, began to arm with diligence. Sir John Lawſon and de Ruyter had been ſent with combined ſquadrons into the Mediterranean, to chaſtiſe the piratical States on the coaſt of Barbary; and the time of their ſeparation approaching, the States ſecretly diſpatched orders to de Ruyter to ſail to the coaſt of Guinea, and to put the Dutch again in poſſeſſion of the ſettlements, whence they had been expelled by Holmes. De Ruyter having a conſiderable force on board, recovered all the new acquiſitions of the Engliſh, except Cape Corſe, and even diſpoſſeſſed them of ſome of their own ſettlements; and having taken ſuch of their ſhips as fell into his hands, ſailed to America, where he attacked Barbadoes, but was repulſed, and then committed hoſtilities on Long Iſland.

Though Charles had received no ſupplies from parliament, he was enabled, by his own funds and credit, to equip a large fleet: the

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ſpirit of the nation ſeconded his armaments, and the city of London lent him 100,000 l. He himſelf went from port to port, inſpecting and encouraging the work; and in a ſhort time, the Engliſh navy was put in a formidable condition. Lawſon arriving and communicating his ſuſpicion of de Ruyter's enterprize, an order was iſſued for ſeizing all Dutch ſhips; and a hundred and thirty-five fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

On the meeting of the parliament, they granted by far the largeſt ſupply that had ever been given to a king of England; and voted near two millions and a half, to be levied by quarterly payments, in three years.

The Dutch dreading the fatal conſequences of a war, that offered no proſpect of advantage, tried every art of negociation, before they would come to extremities. John de Witte, a miniſter equally eminent for his greatneſs of mind, capacity, and integrity, directed all their meaſures; and by his management, a ſpirit of union was preſerved in all the provinces, and a navy equipped able to cope with the fleet of the Engliſh, it being compoſed of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever before built.

Charles no ſooner received intelligence of de Ruyter's enterprizes, than he declared war againſt the States, on the twenty-ſecond of February 1665. His fleet, compoſed of a hundred and fourteen ſail, beſides fire ſhips and ketches, with about 22,000 men on board, was commanded by the duke of York, and un-

der him by prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich. Opdam was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force. The two fleets engaged near the mouth of the Meuſe, on the third of June, at four in the morning, and both ſides fought with their uſual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hotteſt part of the battle, and behaved with great ſpirit and compoſure, even when the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed at his ſide by one cannon-ball, which covered him with their blood and brains: he was cloſely engaged with Opdam, who ſoon after periſhed by his ſhip's blowing up. This accident much diſcouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coaſt. Tromp alone, the ſon of the famous admiral, who was killed during the former war, ſuſtained with his ſquadron the efforts of the Engliſh, and protected the rear of his countrymen. In ſhort, the Dutch were defeated, with the loſs of nineteen ſhips burned or ſunk, and about 6000 men. The victory coſt the Engliſh three or four ſhips, and fifteen hundred men, among whom was vice-admiral Lawſon, an officer of great valour and experience.

The Dutch being thrown into conſternation by this diſaſter, de Witte, who was the ſoul of their counſels, reſolved to exert his military capacity; and in order to ſupport the declining courage of his countrymen, went on board the fleet, which he took under his command. As he had a moſt extenſive genius, he ſoon became as much maſter of naval affairs, as if he had

had been educated in them from his infancy; and even made improvements in ſome parts of pilotage and ſailing.

The allies of the Dutch were determined, by their misfortunes, to lend them their aſſiſtance. The king of France was engaged in a defenſive alliance with the States, but was extremely averſe from entering into a war with ſo formidable a power as England; and tried, for a long time, to mediate a peace between the two parties. Charles endeavoured to draw over Lewis to the ſide of England, and was content to abandon all the Spaniſh Netherlands to the French, without pretending to a foot of ground for himſelf, provided Lewis would allow him to purſue his advantages againſt the Dutch. But though the conqueſt of that valuable territory was the chief object of Lewis's ambition, he rejected the offer, from the opinion, that if the Engliſh had once eſtabliſhed an uncontroulable dominion over the ſea and over commerce, they would ſoon be able to render his acquiſitions a very dear purchaſe.

Mean while the king of Denmark reſolving not to remain an idle ſpectator of the conteſt between the maritime powers; entered into a ſecret agreement with Charles, to ſeize all the Dutch ſhips in his harbours, and to ſhare the ſpoils with the Engliſh, provided they would aſſiſt him in doing it. He then perfidiouſly invited the Dutch to take ſhelter in his ports; and accordingly their Eaſt India fleet, very richly laden, put into Bergen, in Nor-

way. Sandwich, who now commanded the Engliſh navy, diſpatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman, with a ſquadron to attack them: but the governor of Bergen having received no orders from Denmark, joined the Dutch in giving him ſo warm a reception, that he was obliged to quit the enterprize, after having received conſiderable damage.

The king of Denmark appearing aſhamed of his conduct, concluded, with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy, an offenſive alliance againſt the States; yet at the very ſame time an offenſive alliance againſt England was, by his orders, concluded by his reſident at the Hague. Adhering to this laſt alliance, he ſeized and confiſcated all the Engliſh ſhips in his harbours, and threatened every moment to join the Dutch with a fleet of thirty ſail, and in return received a yearly ſubſidy of 1,500,000 crowns, 300,000 of which were paid by France.

Charles endeavoured to counterbalance theſe confederacies by acquiring new allies; but the only one he could obtain was the biſhop of Munſter, whom he engaged, by the promiſe of ſubſidies, to invade the Low Countries with an army of 20,000 men: but after committing great ravages, he was glad to conclude a treaty of peace with the Dutch.

The animoſity which the Hollanders entertained againſt the Engliſh, on an attack which, they thought, was without provocation, made them thirſt for revenge, and hope for better ſucceſs in their next enterprize. They therefore exerted themſelves with the utmoſt vigour,

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and the better to man the fleet, all merchant ſhips were forbid to ſail, and even their fiſheries ſuſpended.

The Engliſh alſo continued in the ſame diſpoſition, though a dreadful plague had broken out in London with ſuch violence, as to carry off in one year near 90,000 perſons. The king, to avoid the contagion, retired to Hampton-court, from whence he removed his houſhold to Saliſbury, but this city being ſoon infected, he choſe his reſidence at Oxford, where he ſummoned his penſioned parliament *, who voted him the ſupply demanded, which was 1,250,000 l. to be levied in two years by monthly aſſeſſments.

In this ſeſſion was paſſed the remarkable Five Mile Act, ſo contrary to every principle of religion, humanity, and liberty. By this cruel ſtatute it was enacted, that no diſſenting teacher, who did not take the oath of non-reſiſtance, ſhould, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place where he had preached after the act of oblivion, under the penalty of fifty pounds, and ſix months impriſonment. By the clergy being ejected from their churches, and prohibited all ſeparate congregations, they had before been rendered incapable of gaining a ſubſiſt-

* Penſioned parliaments were introduced by Charles II. Mr. Andrew Marvel, a perſon of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, was a member of this parliament, and publiſhed a liſt of the penſioners, with their characters and penſions.

ence by their ſpiritual profeſſion; and now they were deprived of the comfort and advantage they might receive by viſiting their friends and acquaintance. This cruel law did not, however, paſs without oppoſition; for, beſides ſeveral peers attached to the parliamentary party, Southampton himſelf, though Clarendon's intimate friend, expreſſed his diſapprobation of theſe meaſures. The church party, however, not diſcouraged with this oppoſition, brought into the houſe of commons, a bill for impoſing the oath of non-reſiſtance on the whole nation, which was rejected only by a majority of three voices.

France having joined the Dutch, they were evidently too powerful for England. Lewis had ordered his admiral, the duke of Beaufort, to ſail from Toulon with the French fleet, conſiſting of above forty ſail, and he was ſuppoſed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy-ſix ſail, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, waited to join him. The Engliſh fleet, which did not exceed ſeventy-four ſail, was commanded by the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert. Albemarle, who, from his ſucceſs under the protector, had learned to deſpiſe the enemy, detached prince Rupert with twenty ſhips, to oppoſe the duke of Beaufort; and ſet ſail with the remainder of the Engliſh to give battle to the Dutch, who, ſeeing their enemies advance, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that enſued is one of the moſt memorable that is to be found in hiſtory. Albemarle

marle here made ſome atonement, by his valour, for the raſhneſs of the attempt.

The battle began on the firſt of June 1666, when Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, led the van, and falling into the thickeſt of the enemy, was over-powered, his ſhip taken, and he himſelf found dead in his cabbin, covered with blood. The Engliſh had the weather-wage of the enemy; but the wind blowing ſo high that they could not uſe their lower tire, they received but ſmall advantage from this circumſtance. The Dutch ſhot chiefly fell on the ſails and rigging; and few ſhips were, the firſt day, ſunk or much damaged. At that time chain-ſhot was a new invention, commonly attributed to de Witte. The darkneſs which came on parted the combatants.

On the ſecond day the wind was ſomewhat fallen, and the engagement became more ſteady and terrible. The Engliſh now perceived, that the moſt intrepid valour cannot compenſate for the ſuperiority of numbers, againſt an enemy neither defective in ſkill nor courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory, and enemies from faction, ſtrove to exceed each other; and the former had the advantage of diſengaging and ſaving his antagoniſt, who had been ſurrounded by the Engliſh, and was in the moſt imminent danger. During the action, fifteen freſh ſhips joined the Dutch fleet; and the Engliſh being ſo ſhattered, that there were but twenty-eight ſhips able to fight, they were obliged to retreat towards their own coaſt. The Dutch followed them, and were on the point

point of renewing the combat, when, a little before night, a calm prevented the engagement.

On the third day the Engliſh continued their retreat, a proper diſpoſition being made for that purpoſe. The ſhattered ſhips were ordered to ſtretch a-head; and ſixteen of the moſt entire followed them in good order, to keep the enemy in awe. The rear was cloſed by Albemarle, who preſented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Oſſory, a gallant youth, the ſon of Ormond, was on board the admiral; and to him Albemarle confeſſed, that he was reſolved rather to blow up his ſhip, and periſh glorioufly, than yield to the enemy. About two o'clock the Dutch came up, and were ready to renew the fight, when another fleet was deſcried from the ſouth, crouding all their ſail to reach the ſcene of action. The Dutch flattered themſelves, that Beaufort was opportunely come, to cut off the retreat of the vanquiſhed: while the Engliſh hoped, that prince Rupert was coming to turn the ſcale. Albemarle receiving intelligence of the prince's approach, bent his courſe towards him. Sir George Ayſcough, in a ſhip of a hundred guns, the largeſt in the fleet, now unhappily ſtruck on the Galloper Sands, and could receive no aſſiſtance from his friends, who were haſtening to join the reinforcement; and ſeeing that the Dutch were preparing fire-ſhips to attack him, he was obliged to ſtrike.

Albemarle and prince Rupert now reſolved to face the enemy; and the next morning the battle

battle began again with more equal force than ever, and with equal bravery. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a cloſe engagement, which continued with great violence till they were parted by a miſt. The Engliſh retired firſt into their harbours: yet it is ſomewhat uncertain who obtained the victory, tho' it was claimed by the Dutch, who took a few ſhips: but as the Engliſh fleet was ſoon repaired, and put to ſea, with many of thoſe ſhips which the Dutch had boaſted to have burned or ſunk, all Europe ſaw that theſe two brave nations were engaged in a diſpute, which was not likely to prove deciſive.

As the Dutch could only obtain a conſiderable ſuperiority by their being joined by the French, de Ruyter, in order to favour their junction, having repaired his fleet, poſted himſelf at the mouth of the Thames. The Engliſh, under Albemarle and prince Rupert, ſoon came to attack him. Each fleet amounted to about eighty ſail; and the valour and experience of the commanders and ſeamen rendered the engagement, which began on the twenty-fifth of July, fierce and obſtinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who had the command of the white ſquadron of the Engliſh, attacked the Dutch van, which he routed, and killed three admirals who commanded it. Sir Jeremy Smith engaged Van Tromp, who, during the heat of the action, was ſeparated from de Ruyter and the main body. De Ruyter, with conduct and valour, maintained the combat againſt the main body of the Engliſh; and notwithſtanding

ing his being overpowered by numbers, kept his ſtation till night ended the engagement: but the next day, finding the Dutch fleets ſcattered and diſcouraged, he ſubmitted to a retreat, which he conducted with ſuch ſkill, that he obtained as much honour by it, as if he had obtained the greateſt victory.

The Engliſh being now maſters of the ſea, inſulted the Dutch in their harbours; and a detachment under Holmes being ſent into the road of Vlie, burned two men of war, a hundred and forty merchant men, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coaſt.

The Dutch fleet being again equipped, de Ruyter cruized near the ſtreights of Dover, where prince Rupert, with the Engliſh navy, now ſtronger than ever, came upon them with full ſail. The Dutch admiral declining the combat, retired into St. John's road, near Boulogne, where he ſheltered himſelf both from the Engliſh, and from a furious ſtorm. Prince Rupert was obliged to retire into St. Helens, where he ſtayed ſome time, in order to repair the damages he had ſuſtained. Mean while the duke of Beaufort proceeded up the channel, and paſſed the Engliſh fleet unperceived: but not finding the Dutch as he expected, he ſailed back to Breſt, and had the good fortune to paſs the Engliſh again, with the loſs of only one ſhip, the Ruby, which fell into their hands.

The Engliſh were, at this time, afflicted with three of the greateſt calamities that can befal mankind; war, peſtilence, and fire. On the

the third of September, a fire breaking out in a baker's houſe, near London bridge, ſpread itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it, till it had laid in aſhes the greateſt part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to do any thing effectual for their relief, were reduced to be melancholy ſpectators of their own ruin, and were purſued from ſtreet to ſtreet by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houſes, that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. The flames, augmented by a ſtrong eaſterly wind, raged with ſurprizing violence, and deſtroyed eighty-nine churches, many hoſpitals and public edifices, and 13,200 private houſes. Yet the ſpirit of the people did not ſink under this calamity. London ſoon roſe more beautiful from its aſhes. The king, by a ſtretch of prerogative, regulated the diſtribution of the buildings, and forbad the uſe of lath and timber, of which the houſes were before compoſed; and many of the ſtreets being built wider, admitted a greater circulation of air; by which means London became more healthy. Hence the plague, which uſed to break out with great fury, once or twice every century, has never ſince appeared in the city.

Soon after the fire the parliament met, and gave the ſanction of law to thoſe regulations made by royal authority, as well as appointed commiſſioners for deciding all ſuch queſtions

of

of property as might ariſe from the fire. They likewiſe voted the king a ſupply of 1,800,000l.

Charles being ſenſible, that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove ineffectual, made advances towards an accommodation; and it was agreed to carry on the treaty at Breda. The Engliſh ambaſſadors deſired, that a ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be agreed to, till the ſeveral claims could be adjuſted: but this propoſal was rejected by the credit of de Witte, who being thoroughly acquainted with the characters of princes, had diſcovered an opportunity of ſtriking a blow, which might at once reſtore to the Dutch the honour loſt during the war, and ſeverely revenge thoſe injuries, which he aſcribed to the wanton ambition and injuſtice of the Engliſh.

Charles had been hitherto unable to ſecrete any of the money granted him by parliament, for carrying on the war. Its expences had exhauſted all the ſupplies; and even a great debt was contracted to the ſeamen. The king therefore reſolved to employ the laſt ſupply of 1,800,000 l. in the payment of the debts, contracted either from neceſſity or his pleaſures; and thus allured by the proſpect of gain, raſhly remitted his preparations, and expoſed England to one of the greateſt affronts it had ever received.

In the mean time de Witte haſtened the naval preparations of Holland; and their fleet, commanded by de Ruyter, appeared in the Thames. A chain had been drawn acroſs the river

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HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.

river Medway, and ſome fortifications added to Sheerneſs and Upnore Caſtle. But Sheerneſs was ſoon taken. Having the advantage of a ſpring-tide and an eaſterly wind, the Dutch preſſed on, and, on the 10th of June 1667, broke the chain, though fortified by ſome ſhips, which had been ſunk there by the duke of Albemarle's order. They then burned three ſhips of the line, which lay to guard the chain. After damaging ſeveral veſſels, and taking the hull of the Royal Charles, which had been ſet on fire by the Engliſh, they advanced with ſix men of war and five fire ſhips, as far as Upnore caſtle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Great James, and the Loyal London. Captain Douglas, who commanded the Royal Oak, periſhed in the flames, though he might have eaſily eſcaped. But he refuſed to leave the ſhip, ſaying, "Never was it known that a "Douglas left his poſt without orders." The Dutch then fell down the Medway, without receiving any conſiderable damage. London was filled with conſternation. It was apprehended, that the next tide they would ſail up the Thames, even to the bridge of that capital. Nine ſhips were inſtantly ſunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall; platforms, provided with artillery, were raiſed in many places; the trained bands were drawn out, and every thing in a violent agitation. The Dutch, however, ſailed back; made a fruitleſs attempt on Portſmouth and Plymouth; and inſulted Harwich: after which they again ſailed up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulſed.

pulſed. The whole coaſt was in alarm; and had the French joined the Dutch fleet, and invaded England, the moſt fatal conſequences might have been apprehended. But Lewis's intereſt required, that a balance ſhould be kept between the two maritime powers; and that neither of them ſhould have an uncontrouled ſuperiority. The people were fired with indignation, at ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the inſults of an enemy, over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, and loudly exclaimed againſt the king, who had converted the public money to his own private uſe, and left the nation defenceleſs.

The treaty of Breda, ſigned on the tenth of July, extricated the king from his preſent difficulties. By this treaty, Poleron alone remained with the Dutch; ſatisfaction for the ſhips Bonaventure and Goodhope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel was no longer inſiſted on; Acadia was yielded to the French, and New York to the Engliſh. The only gainers by this war, which had coſt the nation immenſe ſums, were the two royal brothers. Charles had ſold all the merchant-ſhips taken from the Dutch, before and after the declaration of war, and he pocketed the greateſt part of the late ſupply; while his brother enjoyed a great ſhare of the prizes, as lord high-admiral of England.

The king now thought it neceſſary to make ſome ſacrifice to the diſcontents of his ſubjects; and pitched upon Clarendon, as a proper victim. He conſidered that nobleman as a troubleſome

bleſome cenſor, who diſapproved of his conduct, and was a check upon his pleaſures. That nobleman was extremely unpopular, and was juſtly conſidered as an enemy, by all the diſſenters. The ſale of Dunkirk, the diſgrace at Chatham, and the unſucceſsful concluſion of the war, were laid to his charge. The king deprived him of the office of chancellor; he was ſoon after impeached by the commons; and thinking it proper to withdraw, a bill of baniſhment and incapacity was paſſed againſt him; upon which he retired into France, where he lived in a private manner, employing his leiſure chiefly in reducing into order his hiſtory of the civil wars, for which he had before collected materials. He ſurvived his baniſhment ſix years. Though he had attended the king during his exile, Charles appeared never to have mitigated his reſentment againſt him; and the national prejudices purſued him to his retreat in France. A company of Engliſh ſoldiers being quartered near him, aſſaulted his houſe, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the laſt extremity, had not their officers, hearing of this violence, happily interpoſed. He lived ſome time after this, till being ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplexy, he died in the preſence of his ſon.

The next expedient formed by Charles, in order to acquire popularity, is worthy of praiſe; this was the triple alliance between himſelf, the ſtates-general, and the king of Sweden, to hinder the French king from finiſhing the con-

queſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands. Lewis XIV. was the moſt powerful, as well as moſt ambitious prince in Europe; and the glory of preſerving the balance of power, a glory founded on juſtice and humanity, flattered the ambition of the Engliſh. Lewis was at the head of 40,000 men, commanded by the beſt generals in Europe. With this army, he made himſelf maſter of Ath, Liſle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroy, and Binche; and it was evident that no force in the Netherlands was able to ſtop or retard the progreſs of the French arms. Lewis ſeemed to aim at univerſal empire: all the ſtates of Europe were alarmed at his greatneſs; and the Dutch, from their ſituation, being immediately expoſed to his deſigns, wiſhed for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy that ſhould be able to oppoſe a ſufficient barrier to Lewis's ambition. Charles took the firſt ſtep towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his reſident at Bruſſels, received orders to go ſecretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States, the means of ſaving the Netherlands. The ſtates readily came into the propoſal; and both powers agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers. Lewis had laid claim to the dominions of Spain, in right of his queen; though, on his marrying her, he had renounced every title of ſucceeding to any part of the Spaniſh monarchy. He, however, offered to relinquiſh all the queen's rights, on condition of either keeping the conqueſts he had juſt made in Flanders, or, inſtead of them,

Franch

Franch Comté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. They agreed to oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. De Witte, without the conſent of all the towns in the provinces, who, according to the conſtitution of the republic, ought to have been conſulted, ſigned this confederacy, leaving room for the acceſſion of Sweden, which was ſoon after obtained; and thus was concluded, in five days, the triple league: an event received with equal ſurprize and approbation by all the powers in Europe, except France and Spain, who made many objections; but the plenipotentiaries of all the powers meeting at Aix la Chapelle, a treaty of peace was at length concluded.

Charles, in order to divide the popular party, which ſoon began to be troubleſome to him in parliament, changed the committee of council eſtabliſhed for foreign affairs, and entruſted it to five perſons, Clifford, Aſhly Cooper, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale. This council obtained the name of the cabal, from the initial letters of their names happening to compoſe that word. Never was there a more dangerous miniſtry, nor one more diſtinguiſhed for their pernicious counſels.

On the twenty-fifth of January, 1670, a plan was formed between the duke of York, who had embraced the Popiſh religion, lord Clifford, and lord Arundel of Wardour, both of whom were Catholics, and lord Arlington, who was well affected to that religion, for a ſecret treaty with France. Clarendon had, in

an evil hour, taught Charles, in the firſt years of his reign, to receive money from France, unknown to his people; and the duke, with his three aſſociates, preſuming upon the ſame aid, formed the project of a treaty between the kings of France and England, the ends of which were, that Lewis XIV. ſhould give Charles 200,000 l. a year to enable him to re-eſtabliſh the Popiſh religion in England, and render his power independent of parliament; that he ſhould alſo aſſiſt him with forces, in caſe inſurrections ſhould ariſe in his kingdoms; and that after the intereſts of religion were ſecured, the two monarchs ſhould join their forces, by ſea and land, for the deſtruction of the Dutch commonwealth, and divide its dominions between them and Charles's nephew, the young prince of Orange. This ſcheme being laid before Charles, he adopted it, and diſpatched lord Arundel to Paris, with the propoſal. Lewis agreed to the terms, with an intention to perſuade Charles afterwards, to reverſe the order of the project, and begin with the conqueſt of Holland. But ſo dangerous a ſecret was kept concealed both in France and England.

In the mean time, Buckingham, who was a favourite of the king's ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Orleans, had entered with her, into a project, to bring about an alliance for a new war againſt Holland. Her intentions in this were, that the adjuſting the terms of the treaty, ſhould be committed to themſelves by their reſpective ſovereigns. Lewis caught eagerly at an intrigue which he foreſaw might facilitate the views he had entertained

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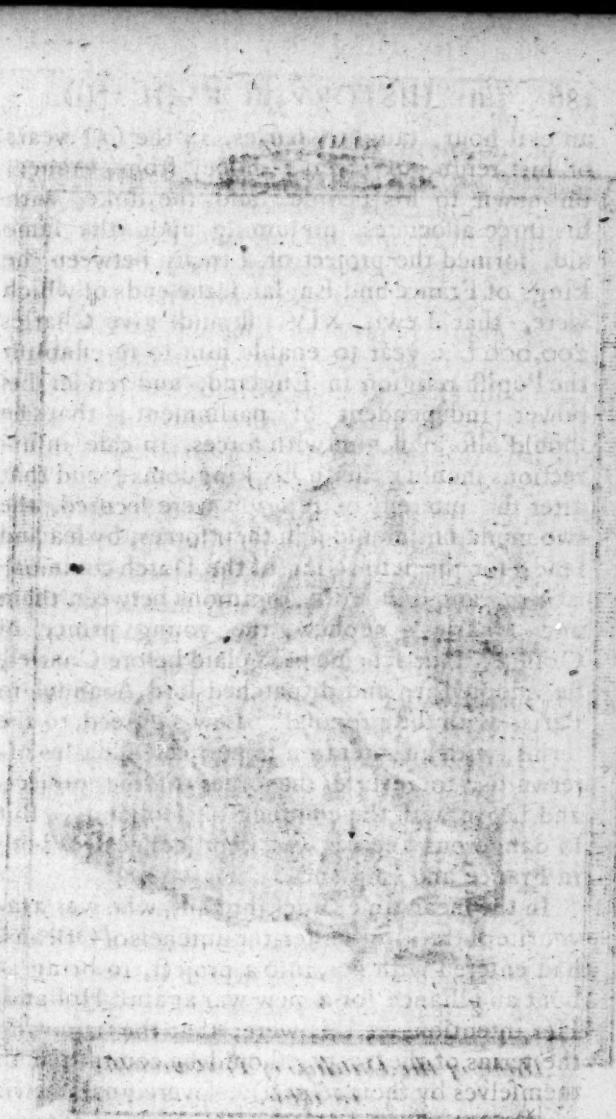


Habit of the Dutchess of Portsmouth in 1666.

when he entered into the ſecret treaty; and as he knew the influence of the dutcheſs with her brother, he ſent her to Dover, under the pretence of a viſit to Charles; but, in reality, to perſuade him to undertake immediately the deſtruction of Holland, and he himſelf lingered on the oppoſite coaſt of France, while the interview laſted. It was intended, that Charles and the duke ſhould have gone to Dover together; but Charles, by an accident, went alone; and the dutcheſs, who was ignorant of the former ſecret treaty, propoſed to her brother, a treaty with France, for a war of the two kingdoms againſt Holland, and his receiving a ſubſidy from France, while it continued. To this propoſal Charles inſtantly agreed. When the duke arrived, he in vain preſſed him to adhere to the terms of the former treaty, and to ſettle the intereſt of religion, and the eſtabliſhment of his own power at home, before he involved himſelf in the difficulties of a war, which would make him dependant upon parliament. Lewis, who was well acquainted with Charles's character, had fixed him in his intereſts by the ties of pleaſure, and had made him a preſent of a French miſtreſs, by whoſe means he hoped to govern him for the future. The dutcheſs of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Querouaille, whom the king took with him to London, and ſoon after created dutcheſs of Portſmouth. He was ever after extremely attached to her; and ſhe proved a great means of ſupporting his connections with France.

Charles's

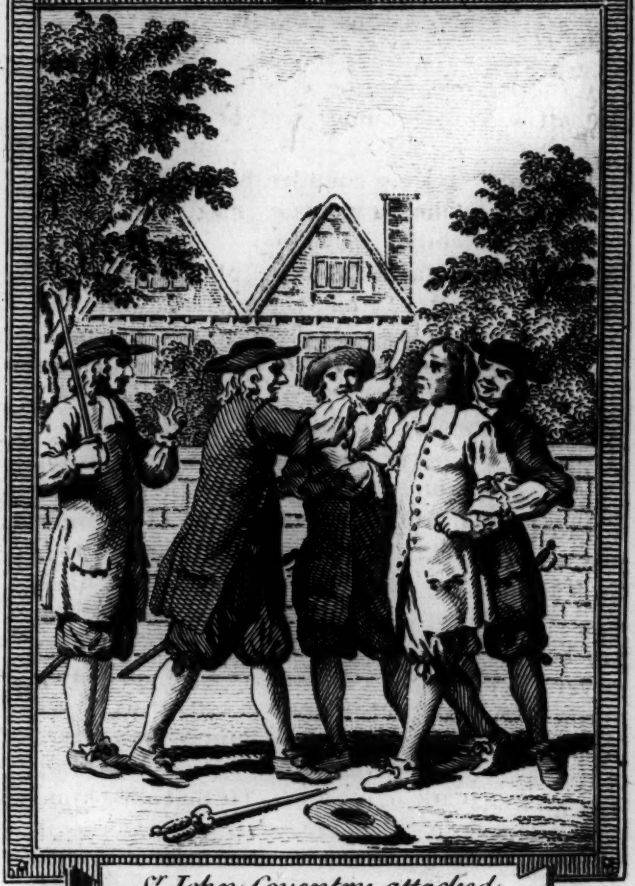
Charles's ſatisfaction at this new alliance, received a great check from the death of the ducheſs of Orleans, who, after drinking a glaſs of ſuccory water, was taken ill, and died in a few days. It was ſtrongly ſuſpected, both by the court of France, and Charles himſelf, that her huſband, who had diſcovered many ſymptoms of jealouſy, had poiſoned her. But, upon opening her body, the phyſicians found no foundation for this ſuſpicion.

Charles took advantage of this incident, to ſend Buckingham to France, under the pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans: but, in reality, to concert farther meaſures for the projected war. Never was ambaſſador more careſſed; for it was for the intereſt of Lewis to load with civilities and favours, thoſe whom he could engage to promote meaſures ſo deſtructive to the intereſt of England.

Lewis now made a ſudden irruption into Lorraine, without the leaſt equitable pretence, to cover his ambitious meaſures, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of the whole country. This ought to have excited the jealouſy of the contracting powers in the triple league, as much as an invaſion of Flanders itſelf; yet Charles turned a deaf ear to all the remonſtrances made to him upon that occaſion.

The parliament being aſſembled according to adjournment, on the 24th of October, 1670, the king made a ſhort ſpeech, and left what was farther to be ſaid to the keeper, who exclaimed againſt the prodigious increaſe of the naval power of France, now grown to be three times

as



Sr. John Coventry attacked by Sands, O'Brien and others.

as great as it was before the laſt Dutch war: expatiated on the decay of the Engliſh navy; the neceſſity of fitting out a fleet of fifty ſail, and the obligation the king lay under, by ſeveral treaties, particularly the triple alliance, and the defenſive league with the ſtates, to exert himſelf for the common good of Chriſtendom. This artifice ſucceeded, and the houſe of commons voted the king conſiderable ſupplies.

In this ſeſſion, a private affair, greatly offended the houſe of commons. A propoſal being made to lay a tax upon play-houſes, the courtiers objected, that the players were the king's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Upon which Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, aſked, *whether the king's pleaſure lay among the male or female players?* This ſtroke of ſatyr was aimed at Charles, who, beſides his miſtreſſes of higher quality, entertained at that time two actreſſes, Davis and Nell Gwin. The king did not receive this raillery with the good humour that might have been expected And this being the firſt time that reſpect to majeſty had been publicly violated, he reſolved to make Coventry an example to all who might be inclined to tread in his ſteps. Sands, O'Brian, and ſome other officers of the guards, were ordered to way-lay him, and to ſet a mark upon him. He defended himſelf with bravery, and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was, with ſome difficulty, diſarmed. They then cut his noſe to the bone, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him that he owed reſpect to the king. The commons were greatly

ly inflamed at this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words ſpoken in the houſe; and upon this occaſion paſſed the Coventry act, which made the maiming of any perſon capital: they alſo enacted, that thoſe criminals who had aſſaulted Coventry, ſhould be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

About this time, another private affair, cauſed the king to be as much cenſured for his capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for his unneceſſary ſeverity. Blood, a diſbanded officer, who had ſerved the protector, had been engaged in a conſpiracy for raiſing an inſurrection in Ireland, for which he had been attainted, and ſome of his accomplices capitally puniſhed. Being reſolved to be revenged on Ormond, the lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, he attacked his coach in the night, as it drove along St. James's ſtreet, in London, and having made himſelf maſter of his perſon, inſtead of killing him immediately, reſolved to hang him at Tyburn; and for that purpoſe bound him, and mounted him on horſeback, behind one of his companions. They had advanced a good way into the fields, when the duke, ſtruggling for his liberty, threw himſelf to the ground, with the fellow to whom he was faſtened. While they were ſtruggling together in the mire, Ormond's ſervants, who had been alarmed, came up, when Blood and his companions firing their piſtols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and by means of the darkneſs eſcaped.

Buck-

Buckingham's profligate character, and enmity to Ormond, made him ſuſpected to be the author of this attempt. Soon after, Oſſory, Ormond's ſon, came to court; and ſeeing Buckingham ſtand by the king, his colour roſe, and he cried out, "My lord, I know that you "are at the bottom of this late attempt upon "my father: but I give you warning, if by "any means he comes to a violent end, I ſhall "not be at a loſs to know the author: I ſhall "conſider you as the aſſaſſin: I ſhall treat you "as ſuch; and wherever I meet you, I ſhall "piſtol you, though you ſtood behind the "king's chair; and I tell it you in his majeſ-"ty's preſence, that you may be ſure I ſhall "not fail of performance."

Blood, a little after, formed the deſign of carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower, and was near ſucceeding. He had wounded and bound Edwards, the keeper of the Jewel-office, and had got out of the Tower with his booty; but was overtaken and ſeized, with ſome of his accomplices. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was concluded to be the ring-leader. When queſtioned, he frankly owned it, but refuſed to tell his accomplices. This rendering him the ſubject of general conſternation, the king, from an idle curioſity, deſired to ſee and ſpeak to him. He was therefore brought to Charles, when he told him, that he had been engaged with others in a deſign to kill him with a carabine, above Batterſea, where his majeſty often went to bathe:

bathe: but when he had taken his ſtand among the reeds, he found his heart checked with an awe of majeſty; and he not only relented, but diverted his aſſociates from their purpoſe: that, as for himſelf, he was entirely indifferent about his life, which he gave over for loſt; yet he could not forbear warning the king of the danger that might attend his execution: his aſſociates having bound themſelves, by the ſtricteſt oaths, to revenge the death of any of their confederates; and that no precaution or power could give any ſecurity againſt them.

This induced Charles to grant Blood a pardon; but he thought it a neceſſary piece of decency, firſt to obtain the duke of Ormond's conſent. Arlington was ſent to Ormond, in the king's name, to deſire him not to proſecute Blood, for reaſons he was commanded to give him. The duke replied, that the only reaſon that could be given, was his majeſty's command; and that being ſufficient, he might ſpare the reſt. Charles carried ſtill farther his kindneſs to Blood: he granted him an eſtate of 500 l. a year in Ireland; encouraged his attendance about his perſon, and ſhewed him ſuch favour, that many applied to him for promoting their intereſt at court. While old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded in defending the crown and regalia againſt this villain, was forgotten and neglected.

The ſame year the dutcheſs of York dying in the communion of the church of Rome, the duke threw off the thin diſguiſe he had hitherto

therto worn, and openly declared his being a member of that church. Ever ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, unaccountable terrors of Popery had prevailed through the nation. Theſe had often been found to have no foundation: but Popery was now become a real ground of terror, it being openly and zealouſly embraced by the heir to the crown, a prince of induſtry and enterprize; and the king himſelf was not entirely free from ſuſpicion.

The new alliance with France now became every day more apparent. Temple, who was ambaſſador to the States, was recalled, and Downing, whom the Dutch conſidered as the inveterate enemy of the republic, was ſent in his ſtead. A ground of quarrel was ſought, by means of the yatcht diſpatched for lady Temple. The captain ſailed through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coaſts, and had orders to make them ſtrike, to fire on them, and to perſevere till they returned his fire. Upon the yatcht's firing, Van Ghent, the Dutch admiral, went on board of her, and expreſſed his willingneſs to pay reſpect, as formerly, to the Britiſh flag: but obſerved, that a fleet, on their own coaſt, being obliged to ſtrike to a ſingle veſſel, and that not a ſhip of war, was ſuch an innovation, that he durſt not, without expreſs orders, agree to it. The captain, afraid to repeat firing in the midſt of the Dutch fleet, continued his voyage, and for that neglect of orders, was thrown into the Tower: and though the Dutch afterwards of-

fered to give all poſſible ſatisfaction to the Engliſh, it was refuſed.

Charles was, however, at a loſs for money to carry on the preparations againſt Holland; for though that prince, under the pretence of maintaining the triple league, at the very time when he had firmly reſolved to break it, had obtained a large ſupply from the commons, this money was ſoon exhauſted by his debts and expences; and though France had ſtipulated to pay him 200,000 l. a year during the war, that ſupply was inconſiderable, compared to the immenſe expence of the Engliſh navy: and it ſeemed yet premature to venture on levying money, without conſent of parliament, ſince the Engliſh were particularly jealous of the privilege of taxing themſelves; hence it was reſolved, by the advice of Shafteſbury, to ſhut up the exchequer.

The bankers had been uſed to take their money to the exchequer, and to advance it upon intereſt to the government upon the ſecurity of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimburſed. The exchequer being ſuddenly ſhut, and no money permitted to be iſſued out, a general confuſion prevailed in the city: the bankers ſtopped payment; the merchants could anſwer no bills; and there was a ſudden ſtagnation of trade. The people, filled with diſmal apprehenſions, aſked each other, what was the deſign of thoſe miſterious counſels, from which all men of honour were excluded, and which began with the forfeiture of public credit,

dit, and the open violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements, both foreign and domeſtic.

The king now, in a ſecond declaration of indulgence, aſſerted a ſuſpending and diſpenſing power in the crown: but in vain did he declare, that that declaration was only a political meaſure, intended to put an end to diviſions among his Proteſtant ſubjects, and to draw the Dutch traders from Holland, by a toleration of religion, ſimilar to that in their own country. The declaration irritated the church, becauſe it ſhewed favour to diſſenters; the diſſenters, becauſe they ſuppoſed it was meant to favour only the Catholics; and the friends to liberty, and the conſtitution, who exclaimed, that it ſtruck at all the laws, for which the people of England had been ſtruggling during eleven hundred years: for, that if the ſovereign could, without conſent of parliament, diſpenſe with one law, he could diſpenſe with all. Many other inſtances of the ſuſpending and diſpenſing powers, followed. The ſubject trembled at ſeeing a ſtanding army raiſed and maintained, without the conſent of parliament; and recollected, that the only time the liberties of England were deſtroyed, was by a ſtanding army, under the direction of Cromwell. They ſaw the exerciſe of martial law enforced; and a proclamation iſſued, filled with menaces againſt thoſe who preſumed to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of his majeſty's meaſures, and even againſt thoſe who heard ſuch diſcourſe, unleſs they informed, in due time, againſt the offenders.

Before the declaration of war, an attempt was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, by Sir Robert Holmes. It conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of ſeizing ſo rich a prize, had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the preſent war, he conſidering that capture as a principal reſource for ſupporting his military enterprizes. Holmes was ſent with nine frigates and three yatchs; and on his approaching the Dutch, he aſſumed an amicable appearance, and invited Van Neſs, the admiral who commanded the convoy, to come an board; and one of his captains gave a like inſidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But theſe officers had received an intimation of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, and had already put all their ſhips of war and merchantmen, in an excellent poſture of defence. They were three times bravely attacked by the Engliſh, and they as often bravely defended themſelves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken, with three or four of the moſt inconſiderable merchantmen: the reſt fighting with ſkill and courage, continued their courſe; and being favoured by a fog, got ſafe into their own harbours.

Charles was now too far advanced to retreat, and immediately iſſued a declaration of war againſt the Dutch, on the moſt falſe and frivolous pretences. Lewis alſo declared war againſt them, and covered this injuſtice; under the idle pretence, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch, that it did not

conſiſt

conſiſt with his glory, any longer to bear it. Sweden was detached from the triple league. The biſhop of Munſter was engaged by the payment of ſubſidies, to take part with France: the elector of Cologne had entered into the ſame alliance; and, from that quarter, France invaded the United Provinces.

The Dutch, who had neglected their land forces, now put to ſea with a formidable fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſhips of war, and forty-four fire-ſhips. Cornelius de Witte was on board, as deputy from the States. They ſailed in queſt of the Engliſh, who were commanded by the duke of York, who had already joined the French, under marſhal d'Etrées. The combined fleets lay in a very negligent poſture at Solbay; and Sandwich, an experienced officer, warned the duke of the danger, but was told, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehenſions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every thing was in great confuſion. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or to periſh, behaved with ſuch prudence, that the whole fleet was indebted to him for its ſafety. He haſted out of the bay, where de Ruyter might have eaſily deſtroyed the combined fleets with his fire-ſhips; and thus gave time to the duke of York, who commanded the main body, and to marſhal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to diſengage themſelves. He ruſhed into battle, with the Hollanders, and drew upon himſelf the braveſt of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, ſunk another

ſhip, which attempted to board him; and alſo ſunk three fire-ſhips, which endeavoured to grapple with him; and though his veſſel was ſhattered, and near ſix hundred men lay dead upon the deck, he ſtill continued the engagement in the midſt of the enemy: but another fire-ſhip having laid hold of his veſſel, her deſtruction was inevitable. Warned by Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refuſed to make his eſcape, and bravely embraced death, as a ſhelter from that ignominy, which he thought was thrown upon him, by a raſh expreſſion of the duke.

In the mean time de Ruyter attacked the duke of York, and fought him with ſuch fury for above two hours, that the duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His ſquadron was overpowered with numbers, till Sir Joſeph Jordan, who had ſucceeded Sandwich, came to his aſſiſtance; and the engagement continued more equal till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the Engliſh. The loſs of the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it did not rather fall more heavy on the Engliſh. The French ſuffered little, for they were ſcarcely engaged in the action; and it was concluded, that they had received orders to ſpare their ſhips, while the Dutch and Engliſh ſhould weaken each other; and this ſuſpicion was confirmed by almoſt all the other actions during the preſent war.

The French, joined by the elector of Cologne and the biſhop of Munſter, executed the paſſage

paſſage of the Rhine, ſo much celebrated at that time by the flattery of the French courtiers; and with rapid ſucceſs, obtained the poſſeſſion of three provinces, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht; Groningen was threatened, and Frieſland lay expoſed; the only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand. Upon the virtue of the prince of Orange, a youth of twenty-two years of age, turned the fate of four millions of freemen. Charles offered him the ſovereignty of a part of his country, if he would quit its defence; but he nobly refuſed the offer. When told that he ſhould live to ſee his country undone, he anſwered, "No! I ſhall die in the laſt ditch." The ſpirit of his countrymen kept pace with his. Amſterdam, by forming a regular plan of defence, now endeavoured to infuſe ſpirit into the other cities not yet taken. Some ſhips that lay uſeleſs in the harbour, were refitted, and ſtationed to guard the city; and the ſluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the damage ſuſtained, was laid under water. The whole province followed the example; and in this extremity, made no ſcruple of reſtoring to the ſea, thoſe fertile fields, which had been won from it with great art and expence.

Ambaſſadors were now diſpatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs; and it was reſolved to ſacrifice to Lewis, Maeſtricht, and all the frontier towns which lay without the bounds of the Seven Provinces, and to pay him a large ſum for the charges of the war.

When

When the Dutch deputies were ſent to beg peace from Charles, the people of England followed their coaches with tears, and the court was obliged to remove them from the eyes of the public, to Hampton-court; but this only increaſed the public pity. They obſerved, that the two moſt powerful monarchs of Europe; the one by land, and the other by ſea, had combined to extirminate an illuſtrious republic. "What a diſmal proſpect, they exclaimed, "does their ſucceſs afford to the neighbours of "the one, and to the ſubjects of the other. "During the entire ſubmiſſion of the nation, "dangerous projects, without provocation, are "formed, and all the foreign intereſts of the "people are ſacrificed, in order, the more "ſurely, to bereave them of their domeſtic li-"berty. Leſt any inſtance of freedom ſhould "remain within their view, the United Pro-"vinces, the real barrier of England, muſt be "abandoned to the moſt dangerous enemy; "and by an univerſal combination of tyranny, "againſt law and liberty, all mankind, who "have retained, in any degree, their precious "birth-rights, are for ever to ſubmit to injuſ-"tice and ſlavery."

Charles, however, began to feel ſome uneaſineſs, from the rapid and unexpected progreſs of the French arms. He perceived, that, ſhould Holland be entirely conquered, all its commerce and naval force would become an acceſſion to France; that the Spaniſh Netherlands would ſoon follow; and Lewis would no longer think it his intereſt to ſupport him againſt his diſcon-

diſcontented ſubjects. This induced him to diſmiſs the Dutch ambaſſadors, leſt they ſhould cabal among his ſubjects; and to ſend Buckingham and Arlington, and ſoon after, lord Halifax, to enter into new negociations with the French king. When theſe miniſters paſſed through Holland, they being ſuppoſed to bring peace to the diſtreſſed republic, the Dutch received them with cries of "God ſave the Engliſh and the prince of Orange!" The ambaſſadors had ſeveral conferences with the ſtates and the prince; but made no reaſonable advances towards an accommodation. They then went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league with Lewis, and agreed that neither of the kings ſhould make peace with Holland, but by their common conſent. They next gave in their pretenſions, in which the terms propoſed by Lewis deprived the republic of all ſecurity againſt any invaſion by land from France; and thoſe demanded by Charles, expoſed them equally to an invaſion by ſea from England.

The Dutch, now reduced to deſpair, roſe in arms, murdered the two de Wittes, the patrons of the republican ſyſtem; expelled from their office ſuch magiſtrates as diſpleaſed them, and appointed William, prince of Orange, ſtadtholder of the United Provinces.

William, worthy of the heroic family from which he ſprang, adopted ſentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted the ſtates to reject with ſcorn the intolerable conditions demanded by their inſolent enemies; reminded them of the generous valour

of

of their anceſtors, who, in the infancy of their ſtate, preferred liberty to every human conſideration; and profeſſed himſelf willing to tread in the ſteps of his illuſtrious predeceſſors. The ſpirit of the young prince infuſed itſelf into his hearers; and they reſolved to defend that part of their country which they ſtill poſſeſſed, to the utmoſt extremity; and when the laſt remains of their native ſoil was taken from them, to fly to their ſettlements in the Indies, and erect a new empire in thoſe remote regions, and preſerve alive, even in the climates of ſlavery, that liberty, of which Europe was become unworthy.

Charles, who had expected to extort from the Dutch a million ſterling, to pay the expences of the war, ſtill perſiſted in his alliance with France; but it is ſaid, that their combined fleets, on approaching the coaſt of Holland, with an Engliſh army on board, commanded by count Schomberg, was carried off the coaſt, by an unuſual tide, and that Providence thus interpoſed to ſave the republic. It is, however, certain, that ſuch tempeſtuous weather prevailed all the reſt of the ſeaſon, that the combined fleets did not dare to attempt to land: upon which, Lewis finding the courage of his enemies revived, returned from Utrecht to Verſailles; and Charles ventured to ſummon a parliament to meet on the fourth of February, 1673.

To this parliament, Britain, perhaps, owes the liberty it now enjoys. Charles opened the ſeſſion, by obſerving, in high terms, that he would

ANT.Y ASHLEY COOPER
Earl of SHAFTESBURY.

would not be contradicted in his reſolutions to maintain his grant of indulgence; and that, inſtead of diminiſhing, he intended to encreaſe his army: a declaration which diſcovered, that he thought he had a right to make the laws depend upon his will, and to obtain his will by an army, to whoſe eſtabliſhment parliament had not conſented. But the houſe of commons, with a true Engliſh ſpirit, remonſtrated, in an addreſs, that the diſpenſing power he had aſſerted in his declaration, did not belong to his crown. Charles gave an ambiguous anſwer, and in a ſecond addreſs, they inſiſted on one more explicit. In another, they preſſed him to diſmiſs the Popiſh officers of his army; and in a fourth, to diſband the army itſelf, as ſoon as the peace was concluded. They paſſed the famous teſt act againſt Popery, which ſtruck the ſtaff of lord high treaſurer from the hand of lord Clifford, and that of lord high admiral from the hand of the king's brother. Charles now declining a conflict with his parliament, relinquiſhed his pretenſions to a diſpenſing power; breaking with his own hands the ſeal affixed to the declaration of indulgence; and declared his inclination to give ſatisfaction to his people, and to expoſe his new miniſters to their vengeance.

The cabal, to eſcape that vengeance, made the ſame ſudden turn with their maſter. Shaftesbury, who was now chancellor, ſaying aloud, "that the prince who forſook himſelf, deſerved "to be forſaken," put himſelf at the head of the oppoſition, and urged the recal of the unconſtitutional

conſtitutional meaſures which he himſelf had adviſed; and Buckingham prepared to follow his example. Arlington, who had been diſobliged, by Clifford's being appointed treaſurer, and who was married to a Dutch woman, privately paid his court to the prince of Orange, and joined the popular party in parliament. The furious Clifford, filled with indignation, retired into the country; and Lauderdale alone adhering to Charles, preſſed him, in vain, to march the Scotch army into England. But not being able to prevail, joined in the national complaints againſt the duke. The commons, however, to recompence the king for his conceſſions, granted him a ſupply, and paſſed an act of general pardon and indemnity, which ſcreened the above miniſters from all farther enquiry.

But though the king had for ſome time tacitly relinquiſhed the diſpenſing power, he was ſtill reſolved to perſevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and the money granted him by parliament enabled him to equip a fleet, the command of which he gave to prince Rupert, under whom commanded the earl of Oſſory, and Sir Edward Sprague, who being joined by a French fleet, commanded by d'Etrées, they ſet ſail towards the coaſt of Holland, and came to an engagement with the Dutch, in which the loſs fell chiefly on the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their intentions, took care to expoſe to all the fire of the enemy: but the event was not deciſive, and both ſides boaſted of the victory. In a week

week the Dutch were refitted, and again preſented themſelves to the combined fleets; upon which a new action enſued, not more deciſive than the former. It was ſufficient glory to de Ruyter, that with a fleet much inferior, he could fight them without any great loſs, and prevent their making a deſcent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, would at this time have endangered the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth.

A few weeks after prince Rupert was again refitted; and putting to ſea, the hoſtile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the laſt battle, which, during the courſe of ſo many years, theſe neighbouring powers have diſputed with each other. In this action, as in the two former, de Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch. De Ruyter was oppoſed to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague, and Brankert to d'Etrées. D'Etrées, with all the French fleet, except rear-admiral Martel, kept at a diſtance; and Brankert, inſtead of attacking them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in a furious combat with Rupert. That prince diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery, and having diſengaged his ſquadron from the numerous enemies with which it was ſurrounded, and joining Sir John Cichely, his rear-admiral, who had been ſeparated from him, haſted to the relief of Sprague, who was hard preſſed by Tromp. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, being diſabled, he hoiſted his flag on board the St. George; while

Tromp was obliged to quit the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was then renewed with the utmoſt fury, by theſe brave rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their ſeconds. Oſſory, Sprague's rear-admiral, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly torn and diſabled. Sprague left her, in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, and return to the charge; when a ſhot, which had paſſed through the St. George, ſunk the boat in which he was, and that brave admiral was drowned, to the great regret even of Tromp himſelf, who generouſly beſtowed on him the praiſes he deſerved.

Prince Rupert found moſt of the ſhips in Sprague's ſquadron diſabled from fight: yet renewing the engagement, it became very cloſe and bloody. He threw the enemy into diſorder; and to encreaſe it, he ſent among them two fire-ſhips; making a ſignal at the ſame time to the French to bear down, which, if they had done, a deciſive victory muſt have enſued. But ſeeing that they neglected his ſignal, and that moſt of his ſhips were in no condition to keep at ſea, he provided for their ſafety, by making eaſy ſail towards the coaſt of England. In this battle the victory was as doubtful as in all the other engagements in the preſent war.

Mean while the prince of Orange, who was joined by the forces of the emperor, under Montecuculi, had greater ſucceſs by land, took ſeveral places; and having cut off the communication between France and the United Provinces, obliged

ed Lewis to recal his forces, and to abandon his conqueſts.

In the enſuing parliament, the duke of York's applying to obtain a princeſs of the houſe of Modena, then in cloſe conjunction with France, raiſed the commons into a flame; and they remonſtrated with great warmth againſt the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonſtrance came too late, the marriage being already celebrated by proxy. The commons ſtill inſiſted; and proceeding to the other parts of government, voted the ſtanding army a grievance; and declared, that they would grant no more ſupplies for carrying on a war againſt the Dutch. Upon this the king ſuddenly prorogued the parliament, in order to give the duke leiſure to finiſh his marriage.

The king's neceſſities obliged him to aſſemble them again on the ſeventh of February 1674; when finding that the diſguſt of the commons was fixed on foundations too deep to be eaſily removed, and that he could expect no ſupply for carrying on a war ſo odious to them, he reſolved to make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, on the terms they had propoſed, thro' the canal of the Spaniſh ambaſſador; and, in a very obliging manner, aſked the advice of the parliament. They unanimouſly concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condeſcenſion, and in their advice for peace. A peace was accordingly concluded. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the moſt extenſive terms: a regulation of trade was agreed to: all poſſeſſions were reſtored to the ſame con-

dition as before the war; and the States agreed to pay to the king the ſum of 800,000 patacoons, near 300,000 l. Four days after the parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people.

Though Charles was obliged to make a ſeparate peace, he ſtill kept up his connections with the French king; apologized for deſerting him, by repreſenting the difficulties under which he laboured: and Lewis, with great complaiſance, admitted the validity of his excuſes.

As Charles was now at peace with all the world, and almoſt the only prince in Europe in that agreeable ſituation, he offered his mediation to the contending powers, in order to compoſe their differences; but without effect; and in the mean time the war was carried on in Flanders and Alſace by the prince of Orange, aſſiſted by the emperor, againſt the forces of France, commanded by the prince of Condé and Turenne.

About this time conſiderable alterations were made in the Engliſh miniſtry. Buckingham, who, by his entertaining wit, had long poſſeſſed the king's favour, was diſmiſſed. The chief miniſters were Arlington, now chamberlain, and Danby the treaſurer, between whom ſubſiſted great jealouſy and hatred, which ſomewhat diſturbed the king's affairs. But Danby daily gained ground with the king, and Arlington declined in the ſame proportion. Danby was a frugal miniſter; and by his applica-

tion

tion and induſtry, brought the revenue into tolerable order. He endeavoured to give offence to no party, and the conſequence was, that he was able entirely to pleaſe none. He was a declared enemy to the French alliance, but never poſſeſſed ſufficient authority to overcome the prepoſſeſſions retained by the king and the duke in favour of it.

Upon the meeting of parliament, the commons diſcovered the utmoſt jealouſy of the king and the duke. They drew up a new bill againſt Popery, and reſolved to inſert in it, many ſevere clauſes for the detection and proſecution of prieſts. Their complaints were repeatedly directed againſt Lauderdale. They examined Buckingham and Arlington at their bar, taking advantage of the ancient hatred of theſe lords againſt each other; and this hatred broke out into mutual accuſations. They prepared to impeach Danby; but upon examining the ſeveral articles, they were found not to contain any juſt reaſons of a proſecution, and the affair was dropped: they applied to the king for recalling his troops from the French ſervice; but inſtead of complying, he only promiſed that they ſhould not be recruited: a bill was brought in, making it treaſon to levy money without the authority of parliament: another for vacating the ſeats of ſuch members as accepted of offices; and another to ſecure the perſonal liberty of the ſubject, and to prevent ſending any perſon priſoner beyond ſea. On the other hand, the king ſtrove to extinguiſh the ſentiment of oppoſition to his power,

by ſetting on foot a bill in the houſe of lords, for impoſing the oath of non-reſiſtance on the members of both houſes, and on all in public ſtations. But that houſe of lords, which, in the firſt tide of the king's popularity, had even, without a vote, impoſed the ſame oath upon churchmen and the officers of boroughs, took ſeventeen days to debate upon the extenſion of it: an interval, during which the nation thought, that the fate of their own liberties, and of thoſe of their poſterity, were all the while ſuſpended. But after the bill was carried through the houſe of lords, the king found, that he could not venture it in the houſe of commons.

When the parliament again aſſembled, the king deſired ſupplies, as well for the building of ſhips, as for taking off anticipations, which lay upon his revenue. He even acknowledged, that he had been leſs frugal than he might have been, and than he reſolved to be for the future; though he aſſerted, that, to his great ſatisfaction, he had found his expences, by no means ſo exorbitant as ſome had repreſented them. The commons voted him 300,000 l. for the building of ſhips; but appropriated the ſum by very ſtrict clauſes, and paſſed a reſolution, not to grant any ſupply for taking off the anticipations of the revenue.

"The French, who, twelve years before, "ſays Mr. Hume, had ſcarcely a ſhip of war "in their harbours, had now raiſed themſelves, "by their perſeverance and policy, to be the "firſt maritime power in Europe. The

"Dutch,

"Dutch, while in alliance with them againſt "England, had ſupplied them with ſeveral "veſſels, and taught them the rudiments of "the difficult art of ſhip-building. The Eng-"liſh next, when in alliance with them againſt "Holland, inſtructed them in the method of "fighting their ſhips, and of preſerving order "in naval engagements. Lewis availed him-"ſelf of every opportunity to aggrandize his "people, while Charles, ſunk in indolence "and pleaſure, neglected all the noble arts of "government; or if at any time he rouzed "himſelf from his lethargy, that induſtry, by "reaſon of the unhappy projects which he "embraced, was often more pernicious to the "public than his inactivity itſelf. He was "as anxious to promote the naval power of "France, as if the ſafety of his crown had "depended on it; and many of the plans exe-"cuted in that kingdom, were firſt, it is ſaid, "digeſted and corrected by him."

Charles now found himſelf entangled by ſuch oppoſite motives and engagements, as he had neither the reſolution to break, nor the patience to unravel. He had always conſider-ed his alliance with France as a ſure reſource, in caſe of any commotions among his own ſub-jects; and amidſt all the ſchemes he had form-ed for enlarging his authority, and altering the eſtabliſhed religion, he expected aſſiſtance from that quarter alone. He had actually ſold his neutrality to France, and received remittances of a million of livres a year, which was after-wards encreaſed to two millions; a conſidera-

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ble ſupply in the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of his revenue. Yet the cries of his people and parliament, ſeconded by Danby, Arlington, and moſt of his miniſters, urged him to take part with the allies; and, by entering into a war with France, to correct the unequal balance of power in Europe. He had reaſon to apprehend danger from oppoſing their earneſt deſires, and might hope for large ſupplies, if he concurred with them. But he dreaded leſt the parliament, after they had engaged him in a war on the continent, ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and make him purchaſe ſupplies, by ſacrificing his prerogative, and abandoning his miniſters.

The king was, during this period, allowed, both by France and the allies, to be the undiſputed arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace, preſcribed by him, could have been refuſed by either party. But though Charles was ſenſible, that while the war continued abroad, the impatience and importunities of his ſubjects would never permit him to enjoy eaſe at home; yet he could not reſolve to impoſe a peace, by joining with either party. Such terms as would be of advantage to the allies, muſt loſe him the friendſhip of France; and the contrary would enrage his parliament. Between theſe views he perpetually fluctuated; and it is obſervable from his conduct, that a careleſs and remiſs diſpoſition, influenced by oppoſive motives, is capable of producing as great inconſiſtencies, as extreme weakneſs and folly.

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The ſucceſs of the French, who were in danger of making an entire conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands, infuſing a juſt terror into the Engliſh parliament, they addreſſed the king on the danger to which his kingdom was expoſed, from the greatneſs of France; and beſought him to enter into ſuch alliances, as would ſecure his own dominions and the Spaniſh Netherlands; and thereby quiet the fears of his people. Charles conſidering this as a kind of attack on his meaſures, replied, in general terms, that he would uſe all means for the preſervation of Flanders, conſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of his kingdoms. The commons conſidering this anſwer as an evaſion, aſſured him, that in caſe a war with the French king ſhould be the reſult of his meaſures, they would grant him ſuch aid and ſupplies as would enable him to ſupport the honour and intereſt of the nation. The king replied, that the only way to prevent danger, was to put him in a condition to make preparations for their ſecurity. The parliament accordingly empowered the king to borrow, on the additional exciſe, 200,000 l. at ſeven per cent. But Charles informed them, that unleſs they granted him 600,000 l. upon new funds, it would be impoſſible for him to anſwer the end of their ſeveral addreſſes. Then ſending for them to Whitehall, he told them upon the word of a king, that they ſhould not repent any truſt they might repoſe in him for the ſafety of his kingdoms; that he would not, for any conſideration, break credit with them, or employ their money

money to other uſes than thoſe for which they intended it; but that he would not hazard either his own ſafety or theirs, by taking any vigorous meaſures, till he was in a better condition, both to defend his ſubjects and offend his enemies.

This ſpeech brought affairs to a ſhort iſſue. The commons found, that they muſt either run the riſque of loſing their money, or endanger thoſe alliances they had projected, and at the ſame time declare to all the world, the higheſt diſtruſt of their ſovereign. Indeed, they had many reaſons which determined them to put no truſt in him. They conſidered, that the pretence of danger was obviouſly groundleſs. That this parliament, by their paſt conduct, had given no foundation for ſuſpicions, ſince they had granted him ſupplies for maintaining the triple league, though concluded without their advice; and even for carrying on the ſecond Dutch war, though it was entered into contrary to their opinion, and contrary to the manifeſt intereſt of the nation. That, on the other hand, the king, with a bad grace, required their truſt and confidence; ſince he had not ſcrupled to demand ſupplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very time when he was concerting meaſures for breaking it; and had accordingly employed to that purpoſe the ſupplies which he had obtained by thoſe deluſive pretenſions. That his union with France, during the war againſt Holland, muſt have been founded on projects, the moſt dangerous to his people; and, as the ſame union

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was ſtill ſecretly maintained, it might juſtly be feared, that the ſame projects were not yet entirely abandoned. That if he really meant to enter into a cordial union with his people, he would have taken the firſt ſtep, and have endeavoured, by putting truſt in them, to reſtore that confidence which he himſelf, by his raſh conduct, had firſt violated. That it was in vain to aſk ſo ſmall a ſum as 600,000 l. in order to ſecure him againſt the future attempts of the parliament; ſince that ſum muſt ſoon be exhauſted, by a war with France, and he muſt again fall into that dependence, which was become eſſential to the conſtitution; and that, if he would form the neceſſary alliances, that, or a greater ſum, would inſtantly be voted.

The parliament, therefore, inſtead of granting the ſupply, voted an addreſs, in which they beſought his majeſty, to enter into an offenſive and defenſive league with the States General, againſt the growth and power of the French king, and for the preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands. This advice they ſupported with reaſons; and promiſed ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies for preſerving his majeſty's honour, and enſuring the ſafety of the public. But the king, pretending the greateſt anger at this addreſs, adjourned the commons, after having reproved them in ſevere terms.

Charles, deſirous, from his natural temper, of being eaſy himſelf, and of putting a ſtop to the murmurs which prevailed againſt him, entertained propoſals for marrying the prince of

of Orange, to the lady Mary, his brother's eldeſt daughter, who, as neither the duke nor himſelf had any male iſſue, was heir apparent to the crown; and, by ſo tempting an offer, he hoped to engage him in his intereſt, and to conclude a peace upon ſuch terms as would ſatisfy France. The king gave a gracious reception to his nephew at Newmarket, and would have entered immediately upon buſineſs; but the prince deſired to be firſt acquainted with the lady Mary, declaring, that he would not, upon any conſideration, marry a perſon diſagreeable to him. Being introduced to the princeſs, who was in the bloom of youth, and amiable both in her perſon and mind, he was charmed with her; and the king thought, that he might ſafely expect his compliance with every propoſal; but was ſurprized to find the prince decline all diſcourſe of buſineſs, and refuſe to enter on any terms for a general peace, till his marriage was over. Charles, in vain, protracted the time, hoping, by his own inſinuation and addreſs, as well as by the allurements of love and ambition, to win him to a compliance. The prince ſaw the ſnare that was laid for him, and reſolved to return to Holland. Charles, ſenſible that the prince's departure would exaſperate his people, conſented to the marriage, which was celebrated on the twenty-third of October 1677.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.